

THE
HERALDRY OF SHAKESPEARE



The Battle of Agincourt Leaf from French illuminated MSS , fifteenth century
Victoria and Albert Museum

The
Heraldry of Shakespeare

A

Commentary with Annotations

by

GUY CADOGAN ROTHERY

Author of

“The Insignia of the Prince of Wales,” “The A B C of Heraldry,”

“Symbols, Emblems and Devices,” etc



London :

THE MORLAND PRESS, 12 Carey Street, Westminster, S.W.1.



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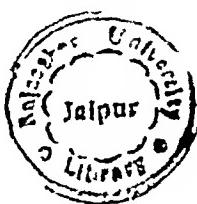
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FOREWORD

Shakespeare's universality makes it possible to study his works from many aspects—that of the heraldist not being the least interesting. It cannot be claimed for the following pages that they constitute an exhaustive review of the subject. They are the result of scattered notes jotted down from time to time over a long period, and gathered together in more consecutive form some seven years ago. A series of unforeseen circumstances have delayed the passing of the book through the Press.

G. C. R.

London, May 1930.

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I. "SHAKESPEARE, ARMIGER"

HERALDRY has been called by someone the Shorthand of History, Shakespeare understood it quite naturally in this sense, and introduces it with splendid effect in his poems and dramatic works

A tag of blazonry, a passing allusion to a well-known cognisance, the dextrous handling of terms of the art, is made to serve the double purpose of introducing the glow of colour, and so, by hinting at or boldly displaying the pride of genealogy, linking up a character with a great past

Though there are not wanting sly digs at the heralds and their ways, and good-humoured scorn is poured on blockheads, learned and otherwise, as in the opening scene of "The Merry Wives of Windsor," still there is appreciation of its appeal to the imagination, a taking for granted of its claims. So everyone of his audience is assumed to have something more than a nodding acquaintance with the science

Time has dulled the glamour, limiting the circle of those who can enter fully into this line of thought, and to that extent deprives many of at least a secondary pleasure to be derived from a thoughtful perusal of Shakespeare's works. It is therefore worth while to give consideration to this subject

As to the taking for granted of a general ability to understand the "shorthand," we find it in both small matters and those of large import

Thus, Henry V calls Katherine "my fair flower de-luce," and when the first Messenger breaks in upon the Princes and great nobles lamenting round the bier of that great King, he declares

Sad tidings bring I to you from France

Cropped are the flower-de-luce in your arms,
Of England's coat one half is cut away

Again, the Duke of York, newly landed from Ireland, intent on making a bid for the Crown, when proclaimed a traitor by Clifford says

Call hither to the stake my two brave bears,
Bid Salisbury and Warwick come to me.

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so not merely summoning the Nevils for the immediate power they could exert, but claiming the sanction of their great ancestry for his acts

Later Queen Margaret is full of shrill taunts against the "Hog," as she calls the silver boar-badged Richard III, and in the whole series of the historical plays the golden lions of England stalk symbolically through the text, occasionally in wrathful opposition to other heraldic tokens

It is not, however, with armory and genealogy alone that the Bard deals. The entire arcanum of the heralds' science, its glowing pageant, its minutely prescribed forms, so full of symbolism, its romantic legends, its quaint terminology is closely woven into the text of his tragedies and comedies alike. Indeed, the whole of Shakespearian drama is deeply coloured by it, and we find the same thing in his poems, notably so in "The Rape of Lucrece." Often it is used with direct intention, more frequently allusively, as current terms in the poetry of speech. This persistence of the habit through the dramas and poems is particularly worthy of note, for it really does reveal one aspect of the poet's mind.

That such free use of heraldry in all its phases should be made in the historical plays is natural enough, for these deal with a period when the "science" or "art," which you will, and especially the bravery of armory, was in its full glory, when politically and in the all too practical art of war it meant much, Wyrley would say everything. Then, forsooth, it was not merely the Shorthand of History, but the Charter of the Social Fabric. Does not William Wyrley in his "True Use of Arms" (1592) say "Without armorial tokens no martial discipline can be exercised, no army ranged, no attempt of any company achieved, and by consequence no conquest made nor so much as any commonwealth defended, neither for outward enemies, civil discord or rebellion of any plebian rout"? No wight might escape its influence. It over-awed the vast crowd of the "ignoble", while for the armiger, it presided at his birth, singled him out in the toils of warfare, the pomps of social life, the formalities of the law, the solemnity of marriage, ushered him to the grave and in hatchment or sepulchral shield bore witness to his identity, though he had passed the bourne whence no traveller returns.

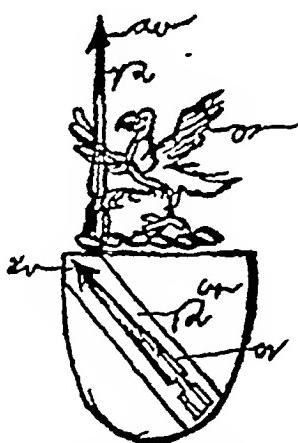
No doubt, when Shakespeare was writing, heraldry had gone far along the road to decadence, though it was all the more tyrannical for that. The purity and apparent simplicity of the Mediæval art had disappeared, to make way for the extraordinary complications and multiplicity of rules, the overcharging of coats, and the admission of irrelevances which characterise so large a proportion of the herald's work of the 16th century to the early part of the 19th century. On the other hand, if the pride of Feudal armory had waned, its power had waxed, spreading far afield. Forgeries were numerous, plagiarism had become a besetting vice of the officers of arms, but coat armour held an immense and imposing place in everyday life, blazoning to all and sundry the social status, or at all events, the pretensions of those who claimed gentility. And so the use of armory became more

"Shakespeare, Armiger"

generalised, the interference of the heralds, and the power of the Earl Marshal's Court grew apace, until no man could be ignorant of what it might import, for even trading and other corporate bodies had their armorial bearings and knew how to make them respected, a fact to which our dramatist makes slight allusion in "The Merry Wives of Windsor."

That Shakespeare was very sensible to the glamour of heraldry we have clear evidence outside of his literary baggage. There are two facts that support this, first the grant of arms to John Shakespeare, William's father, and secondly, the latter's holding of the post of Groom of the Chamber to the King.

As to the grant of arms, there are four documents relating to the subject preserved in the Herald's College, two being drafts of the grant made by Sir William Dethick, Garter-King-of-Arms. In the first draft, dated 1596, it is stated that being "solicited and credibl[e] report informed that John Shakespheare of Stratford-upon-Avon in the Counte of Warw , whose parents and late antecessors were for theye valient and faithfull service advanced and rewarded by the most Pruden Prince King Henry the seventh of famous memorie sythence which tyme they have contin-eed at those p[ro]tes in good reputac'on and credit And that the said John having mayred (Mary) daughter and one of the heires of (Robert) Arden of Wilmcote in the said Counte gent wherof and for encouragement of his posterite I have therefore assigned graunted and by these p[ro]ntes confirmed the shield or cote of Arms viz,



Trick of arms and crest on grant of arms by
Sir William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, to
John Shakespeare (Heralds' College)

"Gould in a bend sable a speare of the first poynt steeled proper And for his Creast or cognizance A faulcon his wings displayed Argent standing on a wrethe of his coullors supporting a speare gould steeled as aforesaid, sett upon a healmett with mantelles and tasselles as has been accustomed and more playnely appearethe depicted on this margent" The motto is Non Sanz Droict, which, indeed, is not

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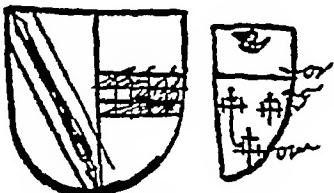
without significance when the whole particulars of the case come to be considered. The Grant authorises John and his children to use the said "cote on shield, seals, rings, signets, penorons, guidons, edifices, utensils, liveries, tombs or monuments, or otherwise at all time in lawful unlike facts or civil use and exercises according to the law of arms."

There are many erasures and additions in this draft, especially as regards family facts, and the names of Mary and her father Robert, printed within brackets above, are in a different hand. Mr Stephen Tucker, Somerset Herald, suggested that these may have been made by William Shakespeare himself.

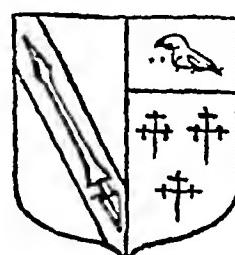
In the second draft it is stated that John Shakespeare had been a Justice of the Peace for 20 years, Bailiff Officer and Chief of the town of Stratford-upon-Avon for 15 or 16 years and that he "Hath lands and tenements of good wealth and substance £500"

Then there is a docket which Dethick prepared in defence of his grant of the gold field and sable bend, for this is the famous feudal coat of the Lords de Mauley. He gives three very similar coats borne by other families in no way connected by blood or feudal allegiance to the de Mauleys, and he adds that "the speare in bend is a patiable difference, and the person to whome it was granted hath borne magestry and was Justice of Peace at Stratford-upon-Avon, he maried the daughter and heire of Ardene and was able to maintaine that estate"

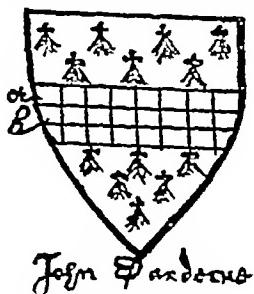
Fine as it was, the original grant did not satisfy the family, for there is a draft of Arms to Arden dated 1599, with the signatures of Dethick, Garter-King-of-Arms, and William Camden Clarencieux-King-at-Arms, in which there is clear



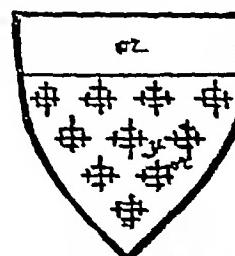
Impaled coat of Shakespeare and Arden modern on draft of grant of arms to John Shakespeare, and sinister side of Arden, ancient (Heralds' College)



Impaled coat of Shakespeare and Arden ancient, differenced with a marltee gules, or sound draft of grant (Heralds' College)



Arms of John de Arden from a Roll of Feudal Arms



Arms of John de Arden from Roll of Feudal Arms.

evidence of an attempt to connect William's mother with the Ardens of Park Hall, and other branches, for in the margin is an impaled coat, showing in trice Shakespeare and a plain coat with a chequey fess. Now, Arden of Park Hall and other branches of the family in different counties bore Ermine, a fess chequey or and azure (derived from the feudal coat of the Earls of Warwick). This was struck out, and what was finally granted to Arden of Wilmcote was Gules, three cross crosslets fitchy and a chief or (the old coat of Arden of Alvanley), with a martlet for difference. The assignment permits John Shakespeare to impale this coat and his descendants to quarter it. Another variation of this famous coat is found attributed to John de Arderne in a Roll of Arms, temp Edward II, gules, semée of cross-crosslets gold, a chief or, while the Ardens of Co Northants, descended from the families of Warwickshire and Cheshire, bore, Gules a chief or

Copies of these grants will be found in “Shakspearæna Genealogica” pp 514-524) by G R French, 1869, and “The Assignment of Arms to Shakespere and Arden, 1596-1599,” with facsimile reproductions, partly in colour, by Stephen Tucker, Somerset Herald in Ordinary, 1884

What is strange about all this is that by 1580 John Shakespeare was involved in debt, and in 1586 had ceased to be an Alderman. It, therefore, appears that we have to deal here with the ambitions of William, who, though still an actor, was buying property in his native town, and preparing to settle down as a landed proprietor. This was in consonance with the feelings of the time. Edward Alleyn (1566-1626), the Actor, and later Master of His Majesty's Game of Bulls, Bears and Mastiff Dogs, founder of the College of God's Gift, Dulwich, procured a grant of arms, blazoned as follows. Argent, a chevron between three cinquefoils gules. For crest An arm couped at the elbow, the hand holding a heart, arm issuing from flames of fire. Now, Alleyn was proprietor of the Rose Theatre, Bankside, which took its name from the Rose Manor in Southwark, itself connected with the old Priory of St Mary Overy, in whose arms the cinquefoil appears.

It is natural enough that the Shakespeare grant should be one of canting arms. Indeed, it is probable that Shakespeare's name gave rise to punning in his own circle. Did not Ben Jonson write in his commendatory verse in the First Folio, that he wished the great dramatists of the past could come “To life again, to hear thy buskin tread and shake a stage,” and a few lines later

He seems to shake a lance
As brandish'd at the eyes of ignorance

The name Shakespeare was derived from the Middle English *schaken* (to shake) and *spere*, and appears to be a nickname for a sergeant or other official of the kind, or a soldier. We find Robertus Schaksper on the Yorks Poll-Tax, A.D. 1379, and the cognate forms William Sharpspere, Close-Rolls, 1278, and Shakelance (Henry Shakelaunce, 1274). It was, therefore, very natural that the heralds should resort to their favourite, and very ancient, habit of punning, the name at once

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suggesting a lance as one of the principal charges. Another name of the same kind is Segar (Old English *Se* = sea, Old English *gar* = spear, or possibly Old English *sige* = victory, and Old English *jar* = Victorious Spear) while Sigchere (Old English *sige* and *bere* = army = Victorious Army or Leader) was King of the East Saxons 663-693. In this connection it is interesting to find that the County Authorities of Middlesex and Essex have on their seals a shield with three seaxes in pale from at least as early as the 16th century.

Another variant is Spirhard (Old English *spere*, Old English *heard* = hard = brave = Spearbrave). Philip Spirhard appears on the Norfolk Hundred Rolls, 1274, and Johannes Spirard on the Yorks Poll-Tax, 1379.

As to heraldic analogy, we find Spearman (claiming residence in Co Salop from the reign of William I) bearing: azure, a chevron, ermine between three broken spears, erect, or armed argent, for crest, a demi-lion holding in its mouth a broken spear. Breakspear, of Langley, Co Herts Vert, eight spears in saltire, or, while Wagstaffe, Co Warwick, had a demi-lion holding a staff raguly. We shall see later that Shakespeare was fully alive to the possibilities punning offered, making good use of it when dealing with the Lucy feudal coat.

It is said that "valieant and faithfull" services rendered to Henry VII procured the ancestral Shakespeare a post as Groom of the Chamber to Henry VII. A similar honour was to fall upon William Shakespeare, though little more than of an honorary character, bringing but a periodical gift of red livery cloth, and on one occasion a slender honorarium. Mr. Halliwell-Phillips had stated more than once that William Shakespeare held the post of Groom of the Chamber to James I, and promised to print his evidence, but never did so. It has been left to Mr Ernest Law to discover and make known the document which he evidently relied upon. Roll 41, Bundle 388, of the Audit Office, Declared Accounts (Treasurer of the Chamber) 1604, preserved at the Record Office* contains an entry of a payment of £21 12s to "Augustine Phillipps and John Heminges for the allowance of themselves and tenne of fellowes his Matres Groomes of the Chamber and Players waiting and attendinge" upon the Spanish Envoy Extraordinary to James I, at Somerset House, from August 9th to the 27th, 1604. Shakespeare's name is not mentioned, nor are the names of the others, except the two who had habitually to do with the business matters of the Company, but to make up their true count, he must have been included. The Ambassador had a busy time, crowded with gorgeous ceremonies, in all of which the grooms would play their part.

All this helps us to understand something of the author's feeling on the subject and so gives us a better understanding of those rich threads of heraldic lore which run through his wonderful tapestry of words.

* "Shakespeare as a Groom of the Chamber" by Ernest Law, London, 1910

II GENERAL REFERENCES

Allusive use of terms of blazonry by Shakespeare is apt and helpful to poetic conception, a fine instance occurring in "Rape of Lucrece" wherein play is made of the heraldic attributes of tinctures, red (or gules) standing for courage and loyalty, white (or argent) for innocence, virtue. The poet sings

But beauty, in that white intituled,
From Venus' doves doth challenge that fair field
Then virtue claims from beauty beauty's red,
Which virtue gave the golden age, to gild
Their silver cheeks, and call'd it then their shield,
Teaching them thus to use it in the fight,—
When shame assail'd, the red should fence the white

This heraldry in Lucrece' face was seen,
Argued by beauty's red, and virtue's white
Of either colour was the other queen,
Proving from world's minority their right
Yet their ambition makes them still to fight,
The sovereignty of either being so great,
That oft they interchange each other's seat

Thus the captivating face is the lady's cognisance, a shield with fair parti-coloured field which was truly emblematic. The theme further elaborated by the conscience-stricken, excuse-seeking Tarquin who thus replies

The colour in thy face
(That even for anger makes the lily pale,
And the red rose blush at her own disgrace)
Shall plead for me, and tell my loving tale
Under that colour am I come to scale
Thy never-conquer'd fort, the fault is thine,
For those thine eyes betray thee unto mine

Here the poet uses the word colour both in the sense of tincture and banner, both equally symbolical

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This play upon the word occurs again in "King John" (IV, 2), when William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, watching the conference between Hubert and the King, says

The colour of the king doth come and go
Between his purpose and his conscience,
Like heralds 'twixt two dreadful battles set
His passion is so ripe it needs must break

Then there are the beautiful lines in "Cymbeline" (II, 2) where the villain, Iachimo, having stepped out of the chest in Imogen's chamber, gazes upon the sleeping dame and half-remorsefully soliloquises

The flame o' the taper
Bows toward her, and would under-peep her lids,
To see the enclosed lights, now canopied
Under these windows, white and azure, lac'd
With blue of heaven's own tinct—But my design

Here we have an allusion to the deeper blue ordinarily used in armory and the more rarely seen light *bleue celeste*

Pericles in the temple apostrophies the vision of Oceana as "Celestial Dion, goddess Argentine" (Pericles V, 1)

Still dealing with tinctures we find Hamlet (II, 2) coaching the actors

It is not so, it begins with Pyrrhus
The rugged Pyrrhus—he, whose sable arms,
Black as his purpose, did the night resemble
When he lay couched in the ominous horse,
Hath now this dread and black complexion smear'd
With heraldry more dismal, head to foot
Now is he total gules, horridly trick'd
With blood of fathers, mothers, daughters, sons
Bak'd and impasted with the parching streets,
That led a tyrannous and damned light
To their vile murthers Roasted in wrath and fire,
And thus o'er-sized with coagulate gore,
With eyes like carbuncles, and hellish Pyrrhus
Old grandsire Priam seeks

"Trick'd" is used here in the proper sense of blazonry, and appears in several passages more or less with the herald's meaning of a mere sketchy outline. The "total gules" is good heraldry, for some well known feudal shields were plain tinctured, devoid of all charge. As to sable (the favourite shield of the "Unknown Knight" in the Romances) this was the shield of Gournay, and also the "Shield of Peace" (with the addition of the silver ostrich feathers) of Edward, Prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince. The "total Gules" shield was the early one of the Kings of Navarre (derived from the battle-field), to say nothing of the Bonvino,

Rossi and Rubei families of Italy, assumed as *armes parlantes*, or *canting blazonry* as we have it. In the Navarre sense mad Timon bids Alcibiades "with man's blood punt the ground gnles, gules," ("Timon" III, 3)

Now, these are all terms of "tinctures," one of them at least, gules, not being used outside of heraldry

Another charming picture is conjured up by the terms of blazonry when Puck's victim, the fair Helena, says to that other sufferer from Oberon's guile, Hermia, ("Midsummer Night's Dream" III, 2)

So we grew together,
Like to a double cherry, seeming parted,
But yet a union in partition,
Two lovely berries moulded on one stem,
So, with two seeming bodies, but one heart,
Two of the first, like coats in heraldry,
Due but to one, and crowned with one crest

Helena here speaks rather like an English Herald of the Renaissance, when correctly enough the impaled coats would appear ensigned with the husband's crested helm. But in olden days, and on the Continent generally, if the wife had brought land or title with her, the cognisance of the additional fief would be used. In this the Welsh, and to some extent the Scottish, heralds followed the practice of the Germans and Italians, blazoning a long row of crested helms above the storied scutcheon.

This word blazon crops up frequently, occasionally in a technical sense, more often descriptively, signifying the making known, as by the herald's proclamation, following on the blare of the trumpet's call. Thus Romeo ("Romeo and Juliet" III, 4) .

Ah, Juliet, if the measure of thy joy
Be heap'd like mine, and that thy skill be more
To blazon it, then sweeten with thy breath
This neighbour air, and let rich music's tongue
Unfold the imagin'd happiness that both
Receive in either by this dear encounter

Beatrice, as becomes a high born Sicilian dame, is well up in heraldry ("Much Ado about Nothing" I, 1), and referring to her uncle's statement that there is ever a skirmish of wits between Benedict and herself, declares,

Alas, he gets nothing by that In our last
conflict, four of his five wits went halting off,
and now is the whole man governed with one
so that if he have wit enough to keep himself
warm, let him bear it for a difference between
himself and his horse for it is all the wealth
that he hath left, to be known a reasonable
creature

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By thus bidding him "wear his wit" "for a difference" the caustic maiden would imply that the count is but a donkey, some connection of his horse, but requiring a distinctive differentiating mark, as in coat armour cadets of a house and collateral members must add some charge to the bearing by way of difference. Ophelia, in her distraught allusion to floral symbolism ("Hamlet" IV, 5) says.

There's fennell for you, and columbines —there's
rue for you, and here's some for me —we may
call it, herb-grace o' Sundays —oh, you must
wear your rue with a difference

clearly meaning that though both sorrowed, the result should be different

Tincture symbolism is taken up in a jesting spirit by Beatrice who, discussing the absent Benedict (II, 2) declares that the

Count is neither sad, nor sick, nor merry, nor
well but civil, count, civil as an orange, and
something of that jealous complexion

To which Don Pedro

I' faith, Lady, I think your blazon to be true,
though I'll be sworn, if he be so, his conceit is
false. Here, Claudio, I have wooed in thy name,
and fair Hero is won, I have broke with her
father, and his goodwill obtained name the day
of marriage, and God give thee joy!

Othello, driven by his mad jealousy when he meets Desdemona before the Castle (III, 4) and takes her hand, in answer to her statement that her hand had given away her heart, declaims bitterly

A liberal hand. The hearts of old gave hands
But our new heraldry is—hands, not hearts

Such a juggling of words we find also in "The Taming of the Shrew" (II, 1) when Petruchio in his first encounter with Katherine declares

Good Kate, I am a gentleman

Kath
[Striking him] That I'll try
Pet I swear I'll cuff you, if you strike again
Kath So may you lose your arms
If you strike you are no gentleman,
And if no gentleman, why, then no arms
Pet A herald, Kate? O put me in thy books
Kath What is your crest? a coxcomb?
Pet A combless cock, so Kate will be my hen
Kath No cock of mine, you crow too like a craven

Herein is a whole commentary on heraldry and chivalry, for to be a gentleman entailed the bearing of coat armour, yet to strike a woman was a dishonour,



Sir Geoffrey Louterell, with surcoat virettes and horse trappings emblazoned with his arms, being presented by his wife, veuring a mantle embroidered with the Louterell arms impaling those of Sutton (her cross) with his crested helm and lance with pennon, his daughter in law, in mantle of Louterell impaling Scrope of Masham, bearing his armorial war shield

From the Luttrell Psalter, an East Anglian illuminated manuscript of the early 14th c
Compare with scene iii, Act II, First Part of Henry IV

General References

in its turn entitling, according to the code of chivalry, defacement of arms Katherine asks whether his crest is a coxcomb (which, indeed, was the origin of the cognisance, which we may trace in the Greek and Roman helmets), and he answers a combless cock, that is a non-fighting cock Katherine twists this into the meaning that he will submit to hen-pecking, that is craven pleading for a quiet life, and a craven knight was dishonoured, no longer a knight

This recondite aspect of the subject, with its enhancing and debasing of heraldic honours, is alluded to in various places In "Henry V" (III, 5) the Constable of France, commenting on the Duke of Bourbon's suggestion that King Harry should be brought captive to Rouen, cries out

This becomes the great

Sorry am I his numbers are so few,
His soldiers sick and famish'd in their march,
For, I am sure, when he shall see our army,
He'll drop his heart into the sink of fear,
And, for achievement, offer us his ransom

Now, achievement meant the complete coat of arms with all its outer adornments, including such honourable augmentations as added crests and badges So King Harry was to offer a ransom in token of submission, instead of adding honours, as for instance Sir John Pelham added the two belts and buckles to his shield to commemorate the part he took in the capture of King John of France at Poitiers, or the placing of the network of golden chains on his plain red shield by Sancho the Strong of Navarre in commemoration of his capture of a Moorish chain encircled camp in 1212

Somewhat in the same vein, Warwick (3 "Henry VI" III, 3) when acting as Ambassador for King Edward to King Lewis, craving the hand of Princess Bona in marriage, is humiliated by the arrival of a messenger with news of Edward having wedded Lady Grey, Warwick asks

"Did I impale him with the regale crown?" using the word impale to denote that he had crowned Edward It is scarcely a current phrase, and appears to be a synonym for enfile The enfiling of a pale, cross or sword with crowns, wreaths and cornets is a familiar charge in heraldry We find the practice referred to in the Chorus to Act II "Henry V"

For now sits Expectation in the air,
And hides a sword, from hilts unto the point,
With crowns imperial, crowns and coronets,
Promis'd to Harry and his followers

But Shakespeare uses the term in the same sense in the fourth scene, first act of this play, when Margaret asks the captured Duke of York

And will you pale your head in Henry's glory?

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

More direct references to armory are numerous. Henry Bolingbroke Duke of Hereford, in his Camp before Bristol Castle ("Richard II" III, 1), in passing sentence on Bushy and Green, mentions among his grievances his long exile

While you have fed upon my seignories,
Disspark'd my parks, and fell'd my forest woods,
From mine own windows torn my household coat,
Raz'd out my impress, leaving me no sign—
Save men's opinions, and my living blood—
To show the world I am a gentleman

And Pericles, wrecked on the shores of Pentapolis (II, 1) claims a boon from the fishermen

To beg of you, kind friends, this coat of worth,
For it was some time target to a king,
I know it by this mark, he lov'd me dearly,
And for his sake I wish the having of it,
And that you'd guide me to your sovereign's court,
Where with it I may appear a gentleman?

In "A Lover's Complaint" we hear of a

Sister sanctified of holiest note,
Which late her noble suit, in court did shun,
Whose rarest havings made the blossoms dote,
For she was sought by spirits of richest coat

That is by those of the highest descent

In the first scene, Act I, of "The Merry Wives of Windsor" we are amused by the rollicking drolling on Justice Shallow's armorial bearings, a passage full of meaning and requiring some comment. Slender declares that "all his successors gone before him" and "all his ancestors that came after him"

may give the dozen white luces in their coat

Shal It is an old coat

Eva The dozen white louses do become an old coat well, it agrees well, passant, it is a familiar beast to man, and signifies love

Shal The luce is the fresh fish, the salt fish is an old coat

Slend I may quarter, coz?

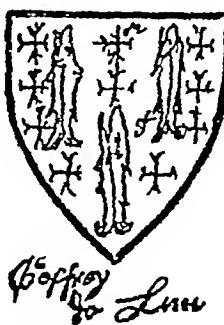
Shal You may, by marrying

Eva It is marring, indeed, if he quarter it

Shal Not a whit

Eva Yes, py'r lady, if he has a quarter of your coat there is but three skirts for yourself, in my simple conjectures

Justice Shallow is, as we know, Sir Thomas Lucy, a local Justice whom Shakespeare thus pilloried. Now, Lucy of Charlecote bore, gules, semée of crosses crosslet three lutes hauriant argent, a variant of the ancient feudal coat of Lucy, Vair, three lutes hauriant argent. Henry de Mountfort conferred on Sir Walter de Charlecote the village of that name in the County of Warwick, a grant confirmed by Richard I. His son was known as Sir William de Lucy,



Arms of the Lucy Family

whence Dugdale conjectures that his mother was heiress to the feudal house of Lucy, hence the pike in the arms. Now, the barons of that name descended from Richard de Lucie, Governor of Falais, Normandy, in the reign of King Stephen Truly "an old coat" and doubtless Shakespeare thought it wise to disguise his meaning somewhat by suppressing the crosses, and by a more liberal distribution of fishes, particularly in view of Evans' gloss. The joke about the dozen white louses agreeing well with an old coat and passant (a happy touch!) as a familiar beast to man, "signifying love," is fair parody on the heraldic writers of that and the immediate past age, with their fantastic notions. The joke was none the worse for having been fished out by Shakespeare from Hollinshed's "Chronicles of Ireland." Therein we read that Sir William Wise, "having lent the King his signet to seal a letter, and having powdered ermites ingrailed in the seal, the King says 'Why, how now Wise, what, hast thou lice here?'

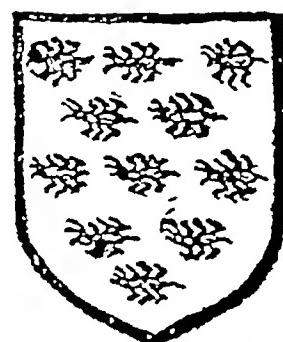
"'And if it like, your Majesty,' quoth Sir William, 'a louse is a rich coat, for by giving the louse I part arms with the French King in that he giveth the flower-de-luce.' Whereat the King heartily laughed to hear how prettily so biting a taunt was suddenly turned to so pleasant a conceit." The taunt, in fact, was diverted to the King's own coat, for he bore quarterly, one and two France, three and four England. But Hollinshed stumbled in one particular, for Wise bore sable, three chevrons, ermines. This, however, brings the similarity rather nearer to Evans' living beasts on an old coat. The conceit, after all, is not far fetched, for the Pullici of Verona bore Or, semée of fleas sable, two bends gules, over all two bends sinister of the third, Bigots of St Quentin, Azure, three ants gold, Macon, of France Argent, a chevron between three woodlice, sable.

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Shallow tries to correct the parson's error by remarking that the luce is a fresh fish, adding that the salt fish is an old coat. This apparently irrelevant remark would have been well understood, both by the quality on the stage and the groundlings, for the ancient arms of Iceland, borne on the Royal shield of Denmark, is



Arms of Prince Arthur, Duke of Brittany
('King John') from a 14th c. MS.



Argent, eleven emmets, sable (Guillim's
"Display of Heraldry")

Gules, a stock fish, surmounted by a gold crown, and these arms appeared, dimidiate with the black eagle of Lubeck on its gold field, on the corporate seal of the Hanseatic League, well enough known in London

The egregious Slender assumes that being a cousin he may quarter these arms, to which Shallow, quite as erroneously, replies, yes by marrying, that is forming an alliance, which is absurd, for he has no heiress to offer his kinsman. Matters are not mended when Sir Parson suggests that would be marring, as it would leave but three skirts. It looks like a sly hit at local misalliances, and



Arms of the Hanseatic League. A silver codfish, crowned, on a red field for Iceland, dimidiated with the black double headed eagle on gold field of Lubeck

becomes all the more laughable when we think of the Shakespeare-Arden episode. There, indeed, was a curious alliance of two seemingly anciently derived coats on very slight heraldic authority, in spite of the godfathership of Dethick and Camden. Shakespeare, from this point of view, was living in a glass house.

Shallow first appears in "II Henry IV" and we find (11, 2) Sir John Falstaff referring to the knight's arms there, for on his leaving him for the battlefield in Yorkshire he says

Well, I will be acquainted with him, if I return,
and it shall go hard, but I will make him a
philosopher's two stones to me if the young dace
be a bait for the old pike, I see no reason, in the
law of nature, but I may snap at him Let time
shape, and then an end [Exit]

Towards the end of the "Merry Wives" (V 5) we come upon another enchanting passage, as packed full of allusion as the opening one. There sweet Anne Page, Queen of the Faeries, with her bevy of spriteful children and the puckish Parson Evans, sings

About, about,
Search Windsor-castle, elves, within and out
Strew good luck, ouphes, on every sacred room,
That it may stand till the perpetuyl doom,
In state as wholesome, as in state 't is fit,
Worthy the owner, and the owner it
The several chours of order look you scour
With juice of balm, and every precious flower
Each fair instalment, coat, and several crest,
With loyal blazon, evermore be bless'd!
And nightly, meadow-fairies, look, you sing,
Like to the Garter's compass, in a ring
The expressure that it bears, green let it be,
More fertile fresh than all the field to see,
And, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, write,
In emerald tufts, flowers purple, blue, and white
Like sapphire, pearl, and rich embroidery,
Buckled below fair knighthood's bending knee
Fairies use flowers for their charactery

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Ouphes is probably a misprint for ouches, referring to some button flower representing clasps or brooches. We shall find other allusions to the Garter later on, but none so poetical and beautiful as this. The Instalment coat and several crests, of course, refer to Garter Stalls in St George's Chapel, each with their engraved plates, emblazoned banners and crested helmets. The statutes of the order, as amended by Henry VIII provide that every Knight "shall have his banner, sword, with his helmet and crest above his stall, which during his life shall abide in that said chapel for his glory."

These "instalments" lead us to another aspect of heraldic display. Laertes ("Hamlet," IV, 5) lamenting the death of his father Polonius, tells us that his suspicions are aroused as to

His means of death, his obscure burial—
No trophy, sword, nor hatchment o'er his bones,
No noble rite, nor formal ostentation —
Cry to be heard, is 't were from heaven to earth,
That I must call 't in question

"Hamlet" was staged in an age when mortuary pomp was a thing of wonder, more heathenish than Christian. The people were accustomed to the enormous funeral procession, with its display of armorial shields and banners, its emblazoned cloaks and palls and badged retainers. Tombs were heavy with blazonry, and the great hatchment, which told symbolically whether the deceased was man or woman, single, married or widowed, was removed from the house of mourning with the dead to the Church.

Another knightly practice is touched upon in the second part of "Henry VI" (IV, 10) when Iden says

Is't Cade that I have slain, that monstrous traitor?
Sword, I will hallow thee for this thy deed,
And hang thee o'er my tomb, when I am dead
Ne'er shall this blood be wiped from thy point,
But thou shalt wear it as a herald's coat,
To emblaze the honour that thy master got

Edward the Black Prince, heir to Edward, when buried in Canterbury Cathedral had his shield, helm, shirt of mail, gauntlets, and sword hung over his tomb.

But the hanging up of armorial insignia was not confined to funeral honours. We have seen Bolingbroke refer to his emblazoned windows and Sweet Anne Page to the plates of the Knights of the Garter. Cleopatra ("Antony and Cleopatra," V 2) tells Ceasar,

And may, through all the world 't is yours, and we
Your 'scutcheons, and your signs of conquest, shall
Hang in what place you please

A fair picture of the stately Hall, with its panoplies of arms and heraldic shields.

Mention of Cæsar brings us to another passage ("Julius Cæsar" II, 2) where Decius Brutus trying to reassure the Council gives a new interpretation to Calphurnia's dream

This dream is all amiss interpreted,
It was a vision fair and fortunate
Your statue spouting blood in many pipes,
In which so many smiling Romans bath'd,
Signifies that from you great Rome shall suck
Reviving blood, and that great men shall press
For tinctures, stains, relics, and cognizance.
This by Calphurnia's dream is signified

That the ancients had both what may be called clan or national, as well as personal cognisances, there can be no doubt. For such practice can be gathered out of the ancient authors, as well as from sculptured monuments and painted pottery. But from this, and the equally crude symbolism connected with heroes and the personages of the heavenly pantheon, is a far cry to regular armory. Yet many of the older heralds drew up an elaborate armorial of "the ancients"

Cæsar, we are told, bore "Or, an eagle displayed with two heads, sable." So it is but natural that in the "Pageant of the Nine Worthies" ("Love's Labour Lost," V 2), when Sir Nathaniel, the hedge priest as Boyet calls him, comes on in the character, he should appear as an armiger. He says

When in the world I liv'd, I was the world's commander,
By east, west, north, and south, I spread my conquering might,
My scutcheon plain declares that I am Alisander

Poor Alexander being baited by Biron and Boyet breaks down and has to retire, whereupon Costard exclaims

O, sir, [to Nath] you have overthrown Alisander
the conqueror! You will be scraped out of the
painted cloth for this your lion, that holds his
poll-ax sitting on a close stool, will be given to
A-jax he will be the ninth worthy A conqueror,
and feard to speak! run away for shame,
Alisander [Nath retires]

Costard's blazoning, though lacking somewhat in delicacy, is vivid enough, for Gerard Leigh tells us the Great Macedonian "did beare Gules, a lion or, seiant
in a chayer, holding a battleaxe, argent." And as for the stool, well, did not at a much later date the Grand Monarque, the Roi Soleil, give his matitudinal audience at breakfast, the while he sat on his *chaise percée*?

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

As for Alexander, his arms were evolved by the heralds from certain silver coins struck in the Near East between 336 and 220 B C They bear on the obverse Alexander's head as young Herakles, hooded with the lion's skin, and in the reverse Zeus seated on a throne holding an eagle and resting on a sceptre The same thing took place with the Anglo-Saxon coins, the designs furnishing so-called arms to Edward the Confessor, which were later held in great esteem, and provided a whole series of personal insignia for his predecessors The throned Zeus motif was popular with the heralds, as the arms of the See of Chichester demonstrate



Apocryphal Arms of Alexander the Great,
from 16th c Book of Arms



Obverse of Silver Coin of Alexander the Great



Arms of the See of Chichester, which may be
compared with the silver stater of Alexander
the Great and his apocryphal arms

Slight touches are scattered here and there Parolles ("All's Well that Ends Well," II, 2) makes a parade of his chivalry, so he speaks of sinister rather than left, though it would be interesting to watch the average actor if he emphasised his words by gesture

Noble heroes, my sword and yours are kin Good sparks and lustrous, a word, good metals —You shall find in the regiment of the Spini one captain Spurio, with his cicatrice, an emblem of war, here on his sinister cheek, it was this very sword entrenched it say to him, I live, and observe his reports for me

In "Othello" (I 3) the Duke says "Let me speak like yourself, and lay a sentence, which as a grise, or step, may help these lovers" Gres, from degrés, is the term of blazonry for steps, derived from architecture.

III OF NATIONAL SYMBOLS.

Naturally the King of Beasts comes in for much attention, the lion being used either as a general armorial symbol, or more definitely as the English Royal and National cognisance, sometimes becoming synonymous with the King

In the earliest of the historical plays ("King John" II, 2) Philip, bastard of Richard I, threatens the Archduke of Austria.

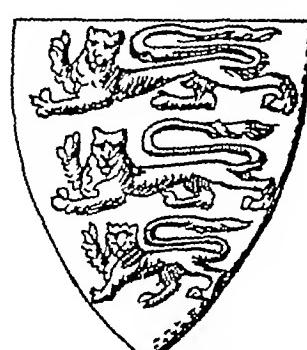
O ! tremble, for you hear the lion roar

This is right enough, for it is certain Richard I used the lion on his shield, it being engraved on his Great Seal, and is also found on the Great Seal of John, precisely as we see it on the Seal of Edward I.

Some heraldic writers asserted that the Dukes of Normandy bore two golden lions passant on a red shield. There is no evidence of this as regards the Conqueror or William Rufus, but on the reverse of the Seal of Richard I, there appears a lion rampant, with some indication that there had been two, one opposite the other, combatant. On his second great seal there is an equestrian figure of the King in armour and he bears a shield with the three lions passant. So much for "England"



Arms of King John (from his Great Seal)



Arms of Edward I (from his Great Seal)

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Scene I, Act V, shows a room in King John's palace when news is brought of the French invasion and the Bastard urges his sovereign to take the field

Show boldness and aspiring confidence
What¹ shall they seek the lion in his den?

Again, the Duke of Exeter says to his nephew, King Henry ("Henry V," II, 2) on the eve of the expedition to France to claim the Crown

Your brother kings and monarchs of the earth
Do all expect that you should rouse yourself,
As did the former lions of your blood

The same attitude is taken by the Monarch himself When Henry IV makes an appeal to his young heir, Prince Hal ("Henry IV," III, 2) referring to the Hotspur, he says

For, of no right, nor colour like to right,
He doth fill fields with harness in the realm
Turns head against the lion's armed jaws,
And, being no more in debt to years than thou,
Leads ancient lords and reverend bishops on,
To bloody battles, and to bruising arms

In "Richard II" (V, 1) both King and Queen use this figure of speech of the King as Lion , the Queen with some contempt, intended to arouse her consort the King, with a pathetic play on the word beast

Queen. The lion, dying, thrusteth forth his paw,
And wounds the earth if nothing else, with rage
To be o'erpower'd, and wilt thou, pupil-like,
Take thy correction mildly? kiss the rod,
And fawn on rage with base humility,
Which art a lion, and a king of beasts?

K Rich. A king of beasts, indeed, if aught but beasts,
I had been still a happy king of men

But the lion can rouse itself, and so does Richard ("Richard II," I, 2) when faced with the conflict between Bolingbroke and the Duke of Norfolk, and finds the opponents reluctant to obey his commands, declares roundly

Rage must be withstood
Give me his gage,—lions make tame

To which Norfolk replies

Yea, but not change his spots take but my shame,
And I resign my gage

Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, bore Gules, a lion rampant, argent , and for crest "a golden leopard with a white label " This crest was a Royal grant (17,

Of National Symbols

Richard II) in allusion to the maternal descent from Thomas Plantagenet of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk. Something more will have to be said later about this Duke and his crest. Here, we see he makes use of a Biblical quotation, which must have been constantly in his mind.

Another instance of kingly and leonine anger is given by King Henry V ("Henry V," IV, 3) in his camp at Agincourt, who sends back answer to France's demand for surrender:

The man that once did sell the lion's skin
While the beast liv'd, was kill'd with hunting him

A somewhat similar sentiment we find uttered by Queen Margaret under different circumstances when in conference at Bury Abbey she tries to warn her consort against the Duke of Gloucester. She urges him on to action by the sarcastic, but politic observation that:

Small curs are not regarded when they grin,
But great men tremble when the lion roars,
And Humphrey is no little man in England

Somewhat later, when before York, Clifford assures King Henry

My gracious liege, this too much lenity
And harmful pity must be laid aside
To whom do lions cast their gentle looks?
Not to the beast that would usurp their den!

And then we see the great but falling Cardinal Wolsey ("Henry VIII," III, 2) anxiously watching Bluff King Hal, drawing an unpropitious augury

He parted frowning from me, as if ruin
Leap'd from his eyes so looks the chased lion
Upon the daring huntsman that has gall'd him,

Falstaff is ever recurring to that symbolism, which suits his flamboyant mentality and bombastic speech so aptly. So when, discovered in his gorgeous tarrididdle about his encounter with the small army in buckram on the Road to Gadshill ("Henry IV," II, 4) he excuses his cowardice by a flattering allusion to Prince Hal. Says he

By the Lord, I knew ye as well as he that made
ye Why, hear ye, my masters Was it for me
to kill the heir apparent? Should I turn upon the
true prince? Why, thou knowest I am as valiant
as Hercules but beware instinct, the lion will
not touch the true prince Instinct is a great
matter, I was a coward on instinct I shall think
the better of myself, and thee, during my life,
I for a valiant lion, and thou for a true prince

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Falstaff had full authority for his belief that the King of Beasts could and did recognise legitimate sovereigns and their heirs. It was so recorded in the "Bestiaries" and was a tenet with knight errantry. Indeed, the belief died hard. Does not Joseph Addison tell us that one of the most powerful influences in converting the Tory Foxhunter from rampant Jacobitism to benevolent support of the Hanoverian succession to the fact of his having learnt that the lions at the Tower had not fallen sick upon the taking of Perth, or to fighting the Pretender? "For he had learned from his cradle that the lions in the Tower were the best judges of the title of our British Kings and always sympathised with our sovereigns."

Then, when brought to bay in his quarrel with the Prince at the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap on the question of his supposed robbery ("Henry IV," III, 3) he adroitly retreats from his threatening attitude

*Why, Hal, thou knowest as thou art but a man,
I dare but as thou art a prince, I fear thee, as
I fear the roaring of the lion's whelp*

P Hen. And why not as the lion?

*Fal. The king himself is to be feared as the
lion. Dost thou think I'll fear thee as I fear thy
father? nay, an I do, let my girdle break!*

And in his ensuing encounter with the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench ("II Henry IV" I, 3) he tells the irate judge:

*For the box of the ear that the prince gave you,
he gave it like a rude prince, and you took it
like a sensible lord. I have checked him for it,
and the young lion repents marry, not in ashes
and sackcloth, but in new silk and old sack.*

In the skirmish at Orleans, the English were first to carry all before them and then to be repulsed when the French are roused by the Pucelle, when Talbot appeals to the national sentiment:

*Hark, countrymen! either renew the fight,
Or tear the lions out of England's coat,
Renounce your soil, give sheep in lions' stead
Sheep run not half so timorous from the wolf,
Or horse, or oven, from the leopard,
As you fly from your oft-subdued slaves.*

We have seen in the case of the "Pageant of the Nine Worthies" that Alexander was to be identified by his armorial shield. That Shakespeare made systematic use

Of National Symbols

of heraldic properties of all kinds in his staging there can be no doubt, for as in that instance, and in certain stage directions we find evidence of it. But even more convincing is the third scene of Act V of the first part of Henry V, where in the Battle of the Plain near Shrewsbury, Douglas, in search of the King slays several warriors dressed in the armorial surcoat of the King. Lamenting his disappointment young Harry Hotspur says

The king hath many marching in his coats

Douglas Now, by my sword, I will kill all his coats,
I'll murther all his wardrobe, piece by piece,
Until I meet the king

And later the irate Scot shouts

Another king! they grow like Hydras' heads
I am the Douglas, fatal to all those
That wear those colours on them—What are thou
That counterfeit'st the person of a king?

K. Hen. The king himself, who, Douglas, grieves at heart,
So many of his shadows thou hast met,
And not the very king

Talbot himself bore Gules, a lion rampant, or, within a border engrailed of the first, which was a curious instance of feudal custom, for these were the arms of the Prince of South Wales, which he derived from the marriage of Sir Gilbert Talbot with Gwendoline, daughter and final heir of Rhys ap Griffith ap Rhys Tewdwr Mawr, and adopted in substitution for the ancestral arms bendy of ten argent and gules. When fatally wounded in the field of battle ("I Henry VI," IV, 7) he wonders what had become of his son, who

Like a hungry lion, did commence
Rough deeds of rage and stern impatience,
But when my angry guardian stood alone,
Tend'reng my ruin, and assail'd of none,
Dizzy-ey'd fury, and great rage of heart,
Suddenly made him from my side to start
Into the clust'ring battle of the French
And in that sea of blood my boy did drench
His overmounting spirit, and there died
My Icarus, by blossom, in his pride

On the French side, Reigner says ("I Henry VI")

Salsbury is a desperate homicide,
He fighteth as one weary of his life
The other lords, like lions wanting food,
Do rush upon us as their hungry prey

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

In a like quandary at the Siege of Coventry ("Henry VI") Warwick, the King Maker, likens himself to a far-spreading tree sheltering the Monarch

Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge,
Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle,
Under whose shade the ramping lion slept,
Whose top-branch overpeer'd Jove's spreading tree,
And kept low shrubs from winter's powerful wind

A far more involved reference to the heraldic lion is found in "King John." In the first scene of Act II, there appears the Duke of Austria, as ally to the French King and champion to young Arthur. He clearly appears draped in a lion's skin. Now, the early romances said that Richard Coeur de Lion obtained his surname from a deed of daring, for in a personal encounter with a Lybian lion, he thrust his gauntletted hand down the savage beast's throat and plucked out his heart, then flayed his prey and ever afterwards wore the spoil. It was this cloak of honour that Austria treacherously usurped when the Troubadour King was captured on his return from the Holy Land and imprisoned in the Ducal Castle. This glorious cloak, called forth the wrath of King John and Richard's Bastard. This mercurial scion of the Plantagenet line apostrophises the Duke in a provocative style

St George, that swindg'd the dragon, and e'er since
Sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door,
Teach us some fence!—Sirrah, were I at home,
At your den, sirrah, [*to Austria*] with your lioness,
I'd set an ox-head to your lion's hide,
And make a monster of you

Aust Peace, no more
Bast O, tremble, for you hear the lion roar

In the first scene of Act III of this play, Constance gives vent to her anger against the Duke, reminding him of his former offer of alliance

Bidding me depend
Upon thy stars, thy fortune, and thy strength?
And dost thou now fall over to my foes?
Thou wear a lion's hide! doff it for shame,
And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs

Aust O, that a man should speak those words to me!
Bast And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs
Aust Thou dar'st not say so, vilian, for thy life
Bast And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs
K John We like not this, thou dost forget thyself

At a later stage of the wrangle, the unhappy Austrian says

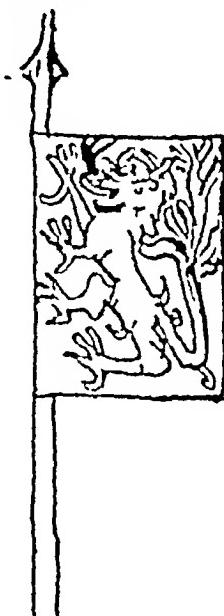
Do so, King Philip, hang no more in doubt.

which the Bastard caps with

Hang nothing but a calf's-skin, most sweet lout.

Of National Symbols

This talk of a calf's skin is curious. Shakespearian commentators explain it as meaning either that the Duke, like the Ass in the fable, had assumed too august a garment, that a calf's suit was more becoming to him, or that he should don the leathern livery of the licensed fool. The injurious chaff appears to go deeper than this, however. The Bastard, at the beginning, says that he would set an ox head to the lion's skin. Of course, herein was an allusion to the horn of domestic ignominy, but was not this also intended as a sly dig at the Austrian coat of arms? For this very crowded composition, as Shakespeare knew it, included the insignia of the



14th century version of the Steer in arms of the
Marquess of Styria successor to the Margravat of
Upper Lusatia

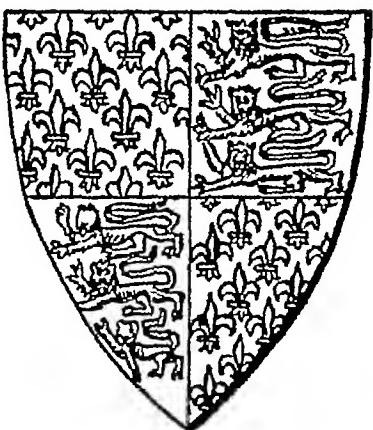
Margravat of Upper Lusatia Argent, an ox passant proper. This Margravat became a possession of the Bohemian crown late in the 14th century, and was Austrian by 1526. It probably attracted the dramatist's attention, who, ignorant, or neglecting chronology, saw the contrast that the two things offered

Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, about to impart the outlines of the conspiracy against Henry VI, utters words of warning to Hotspur, who as nephew and son naturally shared the bearing of the white lion with Worcester and Northumberland

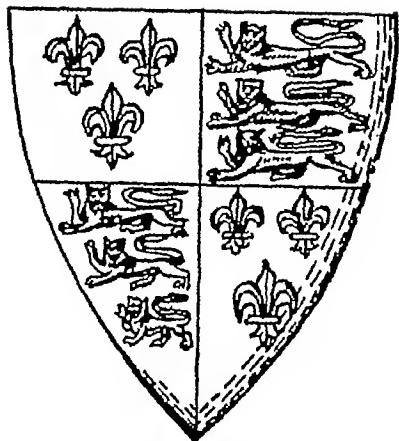
And let them grapple,—the blood more stirs
To rouse a lion than to start a hare

Closely associated with the lion of England was the fleur-de-lys, for from the thirteenth year of his reign, Edward III quartered the blue field powdered with golden lis in token of his claim to the crown of France, and this blazoning was maintained until the fifth year of Richard II. But it was of France modern,

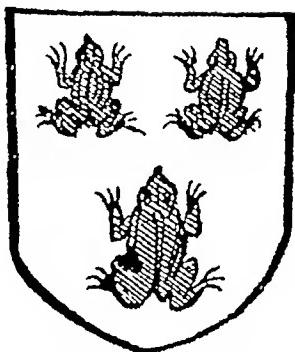
Heraldry of Shakespeare



Royal Arms from Richard III to Henry IV



Arms of Henry IV



Argent, three bactria, sable (Boteraux of Cornwall), popularly supposed to have been the original arms of the Franks

Azure, three fleur-de-lis, two and one, or, that the Messenger speaks when breaking in on the obsequies of Henry V at Westminster Abbey ("I Henry VI," I, i) he tells the Princes and nobles of the disasters in France, calling upon them

Awake, awake, English nobility!
Let not sloth your honours, new begat
Cropped are the flower-de-luce in your arms,
Of England's coat, one half is cut away

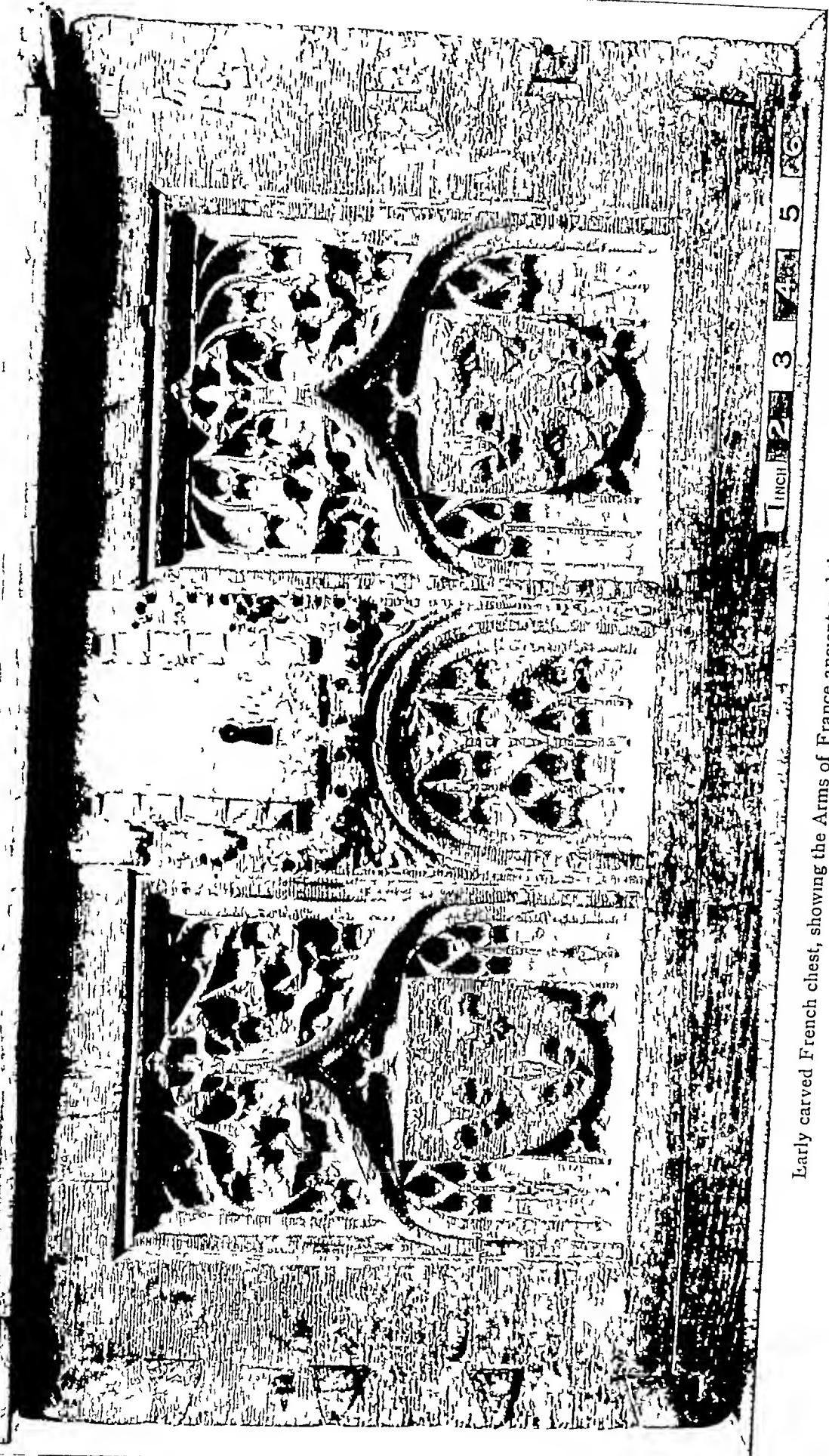
This new blazoning was adopted in imitation of the French Court

Henry V, as we have seen, used the flower-de-luce as synonymous with the fair princess of France, who was to be his bride. The Duke of York ("II Henry VI" V 1) coming over from Ireland to make an attempt on the throne alludes contemptuously to Margaret of Anjou, Consort of Henry VI, when he says.

"A sceptre shall have it—have I a soul,
On which I'll toss a flower-de-luce."

Early carved French chest, showing the Arms of France ancient and the insignia of the Dauphin

1 INCH 2 3 4 5 6



Of National Symbols

A further mention of it occurs ("I Henry VI," I 2) when La Pucelle tells the Dauphin :

I am prepared here is my keen-edged sword,
Decked with five flower de luce on each side

Joan of Arc and her family were given the surname of du Lys by King Lewis, who also granted them armorial bearings Azure, a silver sword, garnished gold, supporting a royal crown between two fleur-de-lis, also gold

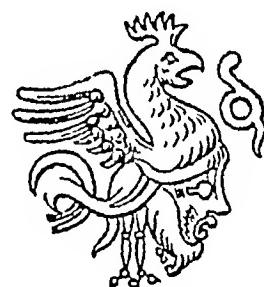
Another emblem of France is alluded to in "King John" (V. 11) when Sir Philip taunts the Dauphin and tells him that he shall thrill and shake.

Even at the crying of your nation's crow

He, of course, is referring to the cock, which from Cæsar's day, had been recognised as the symbol of Gaul, as we see on the coins of the century.



St George and the Dragon. An ancient representation such as described by the Bastard



Cock Helmet on Roman Coin
minted in Gaul

IV FABLES OF HERALDRY.

Two very interesting and instructive groups of Heraldic references relate first to that curious aberration of the bookish heralds, the "Laws of Abatements," or marks of disgrace, and secondly, to those popular forerunners of natural history and botany, the "Bestiaries" and "Herbals"

As to the abatements, whatever else may be said about them, they reveal a high chivalric ideal among the heraldists, which is also found reflected in the early Romances.

Menestrier calls them "Sottises Anglaises," and certainly find few of them elsewhere Gerald Leigh derives them from the Prince of Darkness, for he says that when Lucifer was expelled from Heaven he divided his legions into new bodies, false messengers, liars, vessels of iniquity, plagues or plaguers, collusioners, corrupters of the air, accusers, tempters, who are those who lead knights to misdeeds The abatements must be *stained* with the "dishonourable" tinctures tenné or sanguine The first is a delf tenné, assigned to the revoker of a challenge , second the escutcheon reversed, sanguine, in the middle or honour point, proper to the defiler of maid, wife or widow, and to he who flies from his sovereign with banner , third, point dexter parted tenné, assigned to a knight "for too much boasting of himself in manhood and martial acts" , fourth, point in a point, sanguine, awarded to the coward , fifth, a point champaine tenné, proper to the slayer of a prisoner who craves quarter , sixth, a plain point sanguine, devised for the liar , seventh, a gore sinister tenné for the warrior who acts treacherously to the enemy , eighth, a gusset sanguine, placed on the sinister side for the adulterer, or the dexter for drunkard , ninth, the shield reversed, adapted for the traitor This last we may accept as a practice actually carried out in days of chivalry

But, as a whole, this system of a "blot in the escutcheon," of "stains" and "grained spots," is a figment of the fancy, an elaborate make-believe, for no such practice existed apart from actual defacement or reversal of a shield of a recreant

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Knight in tourney or legal combat, and the defacing of the ensigns of condemned traitors The only frequently used mark of abatement, that of bastardy, was assumed with a haughty pride, for, as Ned Poins so truly points out ("II Henry IV," II, 2)

Even like those that are kin to the king, for they never prick their finger, but they say, "There is some of the king's blood spilt" "How comes that?" say he, that takes upon him not to conceive the answer is as ready as a borrower's cap, "I am the king's poor cousin, sir

P Hen Nay, they will be kin to us, but they will fetch it from Japhet

Of these marks, which include batons (the so-called "bastard bar") and certain borders, though there are innumerable examples in armories, Shakespeare is silent.

Three of the passages referred to above occur in "The Rape of Lucrece." Tarquin declares

Yea, though I die, the scandal will survive,
And be an eyesore in my golden coat,
Some loathsome dash the herald will contrive,
To cipher me how fondly I did dote,
That my posterity, sham'd with the note,
Shall curse my bones, and hold it for no sin
To wish that I their father had not been

And again

O unseen shame! invisible disgrace!
O unfehl sore! crest-wounding, private scar!
Reproach is stamp'd in Collatinus' face,
And Tarquin's eye may read the mot afar,
How he in peace is wounded, not in war
Alas, how many bear such shameful blows,
Which not themselves but he that gives them
knows!

While Lucrece sighs

O! that is gone for which I sought to live,
And therefore now I need not fear to die
To clear this spot by death, at least I give
A badge of fame to slander's livery,
A dying life to living infamy,
Poor helpless help, the treasure stolen away,
To burn the guiltless casket where it lay!

Queen Gertrude ("Hamlet" III, 4) has the same idea as Tarquin of the hidden badges of shame, for, crushed under the reproaches of her son, she cries

O Hamlet, speak no more
Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul,
And there I see such black and grained spots,
As will not leave their tinct

"Grained spots" refers to the dishonourable "stains" or tinctures, for ingrain dyeing is the most permanent form of colouring, for it was originally the dyeing of the fibre, and later of the yarn

Then the practical Walter Whitmore ("II Henry VI," IV, 1) says to William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk

*Whit Gualtier, or Walter, which it is I care
not,
Never yet did base dishonour blur our name,
But with our sword we wip'd away the blot,
Therefore, when merchant-like I sell revenge,
Broke be my sword, my arms torn and defac'd,
And I proclaim'd a coward through the world!*

A line in the speech of King Henry IV to the Prince of Wales, when he says young Harry Hotspur "Leads ancient Lords and reverend bishops on, To bloody battle and to bruising arms" may be read in the sense of debruised or defaced armorials of traitors

Shakespeare, like the learned heralds themselves, frequently had resource to those popular treatises, the "Bestiaries," which themselves derived much of their tales of wonders from the ancients. Most of the books on Armory had much to say about the unnatural history of the animals and monsters found in coat armour. And many were they who believed them. Thus it was no very far-fetched extravagance for Decius ("Julius Cæsar" II, 1) to assure the conspirators that Cæsar would not stay away

Never fear that If he be so resolv'd
I can o'ersway him for he loves to hear
That unicorns may be betray'd with trees,
And bears with glasses, elephants with holes,
Lions with toils, and men with flatterers
But when I tell him he hates flatterers,
He says he does, being then most flattered
Let me work

If the lion is the King of Beasts, the dolphin is the Prince of Fishes, and proves the best of the pilots for mariners and is the trusted prognosticator of the weather. From the "Bestiaries" we learn that when a dolphin is about to die, it changes swiftly into all the colours of the rainbow, one after the other, and for that reason, and its love of man, it was held as the symbol of the Resurrection. As Gerald Leigh says "For strength and bigness he excelleth all others He is a ruler of others," which makes Lafey ("All's Well that Ends Well" II, 3) say of the restored King

Why your dolphin is not lustier 'fore me I
speak in respect

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

The Third Fisherman in "Pericles" (II, 1) descants on his weather wisdom

Nay, master, said not I as much, when I saw
the porpus how he bounced and tumbled? they
say, they are half fish, half flesh, a plague on
them! they ne'er come but I look to be wash'd
Master, I marvel how the fishes live in the sea

But Cleopatra ("Antony and Cleopatra" V 27), is more complimentary, for she likens Antony to the Prince of Fishes

His delights

Were dolphin-like, they show'd his back above
The element they liv'd in

We are introduced to the Dauphin, or Dolphin as the old plays and English pronunciation had it, as title and cognisance of the heir to the French crown. In that phase of the battle before Orleans ("I Henry VI," I, 4) when La Pucelle appears, a messenger comes on the scene and announces

My lord, my lord, the French have gather'd
head
The dauphin, with one Joan la Pucelle join'd,—
A holy prophetess, new risen up,—
Is come with a great power to raise the siege.

Whereupon Talbot giving directions for the removal of the wounded and groaning Salisbury to his tent, refers in abusive and juggling words to both Joan of Arc and Prince Charles

Hear, hear, how dying Salisbury doth groan!
It irks his heart he cannot be reveng'd —
Frenchmen, I'll be a Salisbury to you —
Pucelle or puzzel, dolphin or dogfish,
Your hearts I'll stamp out with my horse's heels



Arms of the Dauphin of France, from
14th c MS

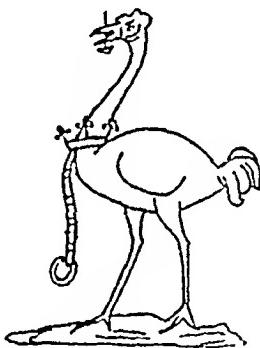
This cognisance of a blue embowed dolphin with red eyes and fins disporting itself on a golden field, was much younger than the title. Early in the 12th century Guigne IV assumed the title of Dauphin du Viennois (much later known as the Dauphiné) and it was not until many years later that the sportive dolphin appeared

Fables of Heraldry

on shield, helm and banner It is probably, as I have pointed out elsewhere, that the title is Celtic, being derived from *dal* (district), *na* (the) and *pen* (point, hill, head or chief) Humbert III sold the Dukedom to Philip of France in 1343, and the appenage and title and cognisance was assigned to the second son of the King and ultimately to the eldest The Dauphin of Auvergne first makes his appearance in the middle of the 14th century, when Guillaume le Jeune gave the baptismal name of Dauphin to his son, apparently in honour of his maternal grandfather, the Dauphin of Viennois Anne, as heiress of her brother, became Dauphine and marrying Louis II, Duc de Bourbon in 1368, was the means of eventually bringing it to the French crown

Jack Cade ("II Henry VI" IV, 10) in his encounter with the humble Kentish Squire Iden, threatens

"I'll make thee eat iron like an ostrich, and swallow
my sword like a great pin, ere thou and I part,"



Bridge of Anne of Bohemia, Consort of Richard II

which he derived from the "Bestiaries" and the heralds The books say that the great fowl can eat anything and the heralds rarely used him without showing him carrying a horseshoe, a fetterlock, or, with religious intent, a Passion nail Her Bible name is derived from the Syriac, meaning the voracious one, and she is described as swifter than the warhorse Hence the horse-shoe, while the Passion nail shows that even an "unclean fowl" can be made a vessel of grace An ostrich with Passion nail in its beak was the badge of Ann of Bohemia, it is to be seen engraved on the robe of her effigy on her tomb in Westminster Abbey

Poor Laertes ("Hamlet" IV, 5) likens himself to another worthy creature

To his good friends thus wide I'll ope my arms,
And, like the kind life-rend'ring pelican,
Repast them with my blood

This is a reference to the Pelican in her Piety of the Armorists and Emblemists, who show the bird in her nest tearing her bosom that drops of her blood may feed her young—a notion probably derived from clumsy observations of

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

two facts . preening of the breast feathers, and feeding the young with predigested food given from beak to beak.

Less pleasant is that fearful wild fowl, half bird of prey, half maiden, to which Cleon likens Dionyza ("Pericles" IV, 4)

Thou art like the harpy,
Which, to betray, dost, with thine angel's face,
Seize with thine eagle's talons

Guillim ("Display of Heraldry") who records Azure, a harpy or, in Huntingdon Church, thus freely renders Virgil

" Of monsters all, most monstrous this, no greater wrath
God sends 'mongst men , it comes from the depth of pitchy hell
And virgin's face, but wombe like gulfe insatiate hath,
Her hands are gripping clawes, her colour pale and fell "

As to the influence of the "Herbals," we have evidence in the pitiful ravings of Ophelia, running over the floral symbolism of her wreaths and nosegays and certain passages concerning roses and the fairies' flowers

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

V OF CRESTS AND BADGES AND MOTS

Crests and badges call forth much fine poetical imagery, partly allusive but also descriptive, for the text shows that both these cognisances were intended to be used to distinguish actors as they would have the folk they impersonated

“ Macbeth ” (V, 7) in the last fight tells Macduff

Thou losest labour
As easy mayst thou the intrenchant air
With thy keen sword impress, as make me bleed
Let fall thy blade on vulnerable crests,
I bear a charmed life, which must not yield
To one of woman born

No doubt his words “ vulnerable crests ” is figurative, meaning the head, but it is equally certain that it also refers to the helmet topped by its cognisance



Arms and Crest of Edward III, from a 14th c MS.

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Heraldic crests are the true outcome of chivalry, the sign of the fighting gentleman, for though a yeoman might wear his leader's insignia on his coat, he could not wear the crested helm. So in what we may call the Temple Garden rose brawl, when Somerset calls Richard Plantagenet a "yeoman," Warwick rebukingly asks .

Spring crestless yeomen from so deep a root?

Illustrating the importance of a crest in heraldry and chivalry, Salisbury when he discovers the body of Prince Arthur exclaims

' This is the very top,
The height, the crest, the crest unto the crest
Of murder's arms

Even in this piling up of crest upon crest the dramatist was justified both by insular practice, particularly Welsh, and Continental usage, where each tief is represented by a crest over the shield

Harry, Earl of Hereford, surnamed Bolingbroke, brought before the King ("Richard II," I, 1) and told to withdraw his gage cries out

O, Heaven defend my soul from such foul sin!
Shall I seem crest-fallen in my father's sight?

In other words, he could not show a mean spirit or bow his head

More decidedly allusive is Westmoreland's reply to the King's complaint about Hotspur ("I Henry IV," V, 1) .

This is his uncle's teaching, this is Worcester,
Malevolent to you in all aspects,
Which makes him prune himself, and bristle up
The crest of youth against your dignity

Prune should be preen

The battle of Shrewsbury Plain ("I Henry IV," V, 5), with its crowds of mighty warriors, conjures up visions of a forest of splendid crested helms. Hotspur, meeting the Prince of Wales, exclaims .

Nor shall it, Harry, for the hour is come
To end the one of us, And would to Heaven,
Thy name in arms were now as great as mine'
P Hen I'll make it greater ere I part from thee,
And all the budding honours on thy crest
I'll crop, to make a garland for my head
Hot I can no longer brook thy vanities

Here we see him gazing on a lion, for the royal crest was a fierce golden crowned lion bestriding the helm. According to Planché, Henry I bore a lion as

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

cognisance, but it is only from Richard I that we may take it as generally adopted, and it appears on the Great Seal for the first time in the reign of Edward III
The Percies also had a lion crest

*I Hen Then, brother John of Lancaster, to you
This honourable bounty shall belong
Go to the Douglas, and deliver him
Up to his pleasure, ransomless, and free
His valour, shown upon our crests to-day,
Hath taught us how to cherish such high deeds,
Even in the bosom of our adversaries*

Cleopatra ("Antony and Cleopatra" V 2) in recalling the splendid aspect of the lost Antony says

*His legs bestri'd the ocean his rear'd arm
Crested the world*

The second part of the sentence being framed on many old crests of the vambraced bowed arm

Badges hold a rather anomalous position in heraldry Strictly speaking, they do not belong to armory, but are rather house, family or even manorial marks, which become adjuncts to the total armorial achievement Yet, unquestionably they are as a class more ancient than armorial bearings, may, indeed, be considered as a link with those cognisances of which Mercurius entertains Caesar For instance, the bear and ragged staff of Warwick which will occupy our attention presently dates back to nebulous times Some of them found their way into coat armour, more often they became crests But the badges as such are borne alone, that is to say, not on a wreath or torque, or on a shield They were worn not only by retainers of all grades, but by members of the family themselves, embroidered on the sleeve, chest, "powdered" over garments, or on banners, and as collar or garter pendants In fact the badge is the distinctive mark either of house or individual, which accounts for its having entered into popular language Many examples of this are seen in Shakespeare, among them the following —

"Titus Andronicus" (I, 2)

Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge

Sonnet 44 ends thus

*I must attend time's leisure with my moan,
Receiving nought by elements so slow
But heavy tears, badges of either's woe*

Shylock ("Merchant of Venice" I, 3) recounting the wrongs under which he laboured concludes

*Still have I borne it with a patient shrug,
For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe*

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Other purely allusive references may be cited

“Richard II,” (V, 3)

His face still combating with tears and smiles
The badges of his grief and patience

Prospero “The Tempest,” (V, 1)

Mark but the badges of these men, my lords,
Then say if they be true

Lenox “Macbeth” (X, 3)

Len Those of his chamber, as it seem'd, had done 't
Their hands and faces were all badg'd with blood,
So were their daggers, which, unwip'd, we found
Upon their pillows they star'd, and were distracted,
No man's life was to be trusted with them

Suffolk “Second Part of Henry (VI,” III, 2)

I wear no knife to slaughter sleeping men,
But here 's a vengeful sword, rusted with ease,
That shall be scoured in his rancorous heart
That slanders me with murther's crimson badge
Say, if thou dar'st, proud lord of Warwickshire,
That I am faulty in duke Humphrey's death

Falstaff (“Second Part of Henry IV” IV, 4)

The second property of your excellent sherris is,—
the warming of the blood, which, before cold and
settled, left the liver white and pale, which is the
badge of pusillanimity and cowardice, but the
sherris warms it and makes it course from the
inwards to the parts extreme

Messenger “Much Ado About Nothing” (I, 1)

I have already delivered him letters, and there
appears much joy in him, even so much that joy
could not show itself modest enough without a
badge of bitterness

Lysander : “Midsummer Night’s Dream” (III, 2)

How can these things in me seem scorn to you,
Bearing the badge of faith, to prove them true?

The King “Love’s Labour Lost” (V, 2)

O paradox! Black is the badge of hell,
The hue of dungeons, and the scowl of night,
And beauty's crest becomes the heavens well

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

Biron "Love's Labour Lost" (V, 2)

Honest plain words best pierce the ears of grief,—
And by these badges understand the king
For your fair sakes have we neglected time,
Play'd foul play with our oaths
Thus droops the lofty pine and hangs his head

Finally, we come to something more definitely heraldic in the "Second Part of Henry VI" (ii, 111) when Henry calls upon Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester to deliver up his staff as Protector, Suffolk says

Thus droops the lofty pine and hangs his head

This is an allusion to the stock of a tree, certainly borne as a badge by the Duke's father, Henry IV, and derived from Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, who adopted it in allusion to his place of birth and his political condition

Then in the quarrel between York and his partisans, and King Henry and his supporters preceding the battle of St Albans, in the same play, Clifford, having hailed York a traitor, the Duke replies

Look in a glass, and call thy image so,
I am thy king, and thou a false-heart traitor
Call hither to the stake my two brave bears,
That, with the very shaking of their chains,
They may astonish these fell lurking curs,
Bid Salisbury and Warwick come to me

Drums Enter Warwick and Salisbury, with Forces

Clif Are these thy bears? we'll bait thy bears
to death,
And minacle the bearward in their chains,
If thou dar'st bring them to the baiting-place

Rich Oft have I seen a hot o'erweening cur
Run brck and bite, because he was withheld,
Who, being suffer'd with the bear's fell paw,
Hath clipp'd his tail between his legs, and cried
And such a piece of service will you do,
If you oppose yourselves to match Lord Warwick

Clif I am resolv'd to bear a greater storm
Than any thou canst conjure up to-day,
And that I'll write upon thy burgonet,
Might I but know thee by thy household badge

War Now, by my father's badge, old Nevil's
crest,
The rampart bear, chain'd to the ragged staff,
This day I'll wear aloft my burgonet,
(As on a mountan-top the cedar shows,
That keeps his leaves in spite of any storm),
Even to affright thee with the view thereof

Clif And from thy burgonet I'll rend thy bear,
And tread it under foot with all contempt,
Despite the bearward that protects the bear

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

In Scene II. Warwick cries

Clifford of Cumberland, 'tis Warwick calls !
And if thou dost not hide thee from the bear,
Now, when the angry trumpet sounds alarum,
And dead men's cries do fill the empty air,
Clifford, I say, come forth and fight with me !



The ragged staff and bear of Warwick

The whole of this passage refers, of course, to the famous badge of the bear and ragged staff associated with the House of Warwick, the symbolism of which is made use of most dexterously by the owner in his arguments. It is a compound badge, the white bear rampant going back, it would seem, to Urso d'Arbitot, one of the great feudal lords who came over with the Conqueror, and created Earl of Warwick. And thus it became feudal and manorial as it were, going with the vast estate and title to the various possessors, the Montacutes, Beauchamps, and Nevills. The Beauchamps brought with them the ragged staff, another ancient cognisance, but Thomas de Beauchamp, 1401, displayed the two badges separately. It was Richard de Beauchamp, 1439, who first had a muzzled bear leaning on the ragged staff. Such amalgamations were not uncommon. The Dacre ragged staff, knot and escutcheon shell is one other example.

The burgonet which Clifford threatens with his sword and Warwick promises to keep aloft, was a small steel cap, as distinct from the more ponderous helmet, but both alike crowned with its crest or badge.

However, in both heraldry and history the most important badges, which also at a late stage exemplify amalgamation, are the white and red roses of the Royal Houses of York and Lancaster. Shakespeare introduces the subject very poetically in "The First Part of Henry VI," (1) We see coming out from the Temple Hall into the garden the Earls of Somerset, Suffolk and Warwick, Richard Plantagenet, Vernon and another Lawyer. Plantagenet endeavours to resume a



Fifteenth Century stained glass in John Hall's Hall, Salisbury. Left light, showing badge of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, "The King Maker" (the bear and ragged staff of Warwick). Right light, showing John Hall with the Standard of Edward V as Prince of Wales

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

knotty question of genealogy and precedence as influenced by legal disability, but finding the others unwilling to commit themselves he says

Som Since you are tongue-tied, and so loth to speak,
In dumb significants proclaim your thoughts,
Let him that is a true-born gentleman,
And stands upon the honour of his birth,
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,
I rom off this briar pluck a white rose with me

Som Let him that is no coward, nor no flatterer,
But dare maintain the party of the truth,
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me

War I love no colours, and, without all colour
Of base insinuating flattery,
I pluck this white rose, with Plantagenet

Suf I pluck this red rose, with young Somerset,
And say withal, I think he held the right

Lor Sir, lords and gentlemen, and pluck no
more,
Till you conclude—that he upon whose side
The fewest roses are cropp'd from the tree,
Shall yield the other in the right opinion

Som Good master Vernon, it is well objected,
If I have fewest I subscribe in silence

Plan And I

Lor Then, for the truth and plausibility of the
case,
I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here,
Giving my verdict on the white rose side

Som Prick not your finger as you pluck it off,
lest, bleeding, you do print the white rose red,
And fall on my side so against your will

Lor If I, my lord, for opinion bleed,
Opinion shall be surgeon to my hurt,
And keep me on the side where still I am

Som Well, well, come on, Who else?

Law Unless my study and my books be false,
[To Som]

The argument you held was wrong in you,
In sign whereof, I pluck a white rose, too

Plan Now, Somerset, where is your argument?

Som Here, in my scabbard, meditating that
Shall die your white rose in a bloody red

Plan Meantime, your cheeks do counterfeit our
roses,
For pale they look with fear, as witnessing
The truth on our side

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Som No, Plantagenet,
'T is not for fear, but anger,—that thy cheeks
Blush for pure shame, to counterfeit our roses,
And yet thy tongue will not confess thy error

Plan Hath not thy rose a canker, Somerset?

Som Hath not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet?

Plan Ay, sharp and piercing, to maintain his
truth,
Whilst thy consuming canker eats his falsehood

Som Well, I'll find friends to wear my bleeding
roses,
That shall maintain what I have said is true,
Where false Plantagenet dare not be seen

Plan Now, by this maiden blossom in my hand,
I scorn thee and thy fashion, peevish boy

Suf Turn not thy scorns this way, Plantagenet

Plan Proud Poole I will, and scorn both him
and thee.

Suf I'll turn my part thereof into thy throat

Som Away, away, good William De-la-Poole!
We grace the yeoman by conversing with him

War Now, by God's will, thou wrong'st him,
Somerset,
His grandfather was Lionel duke of Clarence,
Third son to the third Edward king of England,
Spring crestless yeomen from so deep a root?

Plan He bears him on the place's privilege,
Or durst not, for his craven heart, say thus

Som By Him that made me, I'll maintain my
words
On any plot of ground in Christendom
Was not thy father, Richard, earl of Cambridge,
For treason executed in our late king's days?
And, by his treason, stand'st not thou attainted,
Corrupted, and exempt from ancient gentry?
His trespass yet lives guilty in thy blood,
And, till thou be restor'd, thou art a yeoman

Plan My father was attached, not attainted
Condemn'd to die for treason, but no traitor,
And that I'll prove on better men than Somerset,
Were growing time once ripen'd to my will
For your partaker Poole, and you yourself,
I'll note you in my book of memory,
To scourge you for this apprehension
Look to it well, and say you are well warn'd

Som Ay, thou shalt find us ready for thee still
And know us, by these colours, for thy foes,
For these my friends, in spite of thee, shall wear

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

Plan And, by my soul, this pale and angry rose,
Is cognizance of my blood-drinking life,
Will I for ever, and my faction, wear,
Until it wither with me to my grave,
Or flourish to the height of my degree

Suf Go forward, and be chok'd with thy ambition
And so farewell, until I meet thee next

[Exit]

Sem Have with thee, Poole — Farewell, ambitious Richard

[Exit]

Plan How I am brav'd, and must perforce endure it.

Hart This blot, that they object against your house
Shall be wip'd out in the next parliament,
Call'd for the truce of Winchester and Gloster
And, if thou be not then created York,
I will not live to be accounted Warwick
Meantime, in signal of my love to thee,
Against proud Somerset and William Poole,
Will I upon thy party wear this rose
And here I prophesi,—This brawl to-day,
Grown to this faction, in the Temple garden,
Shall send, between the red rose and the white,
A thousand souls to death and deadly night

Plan Good master Vernon, I am bound to you,
That you on my behalf would pluck a flower

Vern In your behalf still will I wear the same

La And so will I

Plan Thanks, gentle sir
Come, let us four to dinner I dare say
This quarrel will drink blood another day

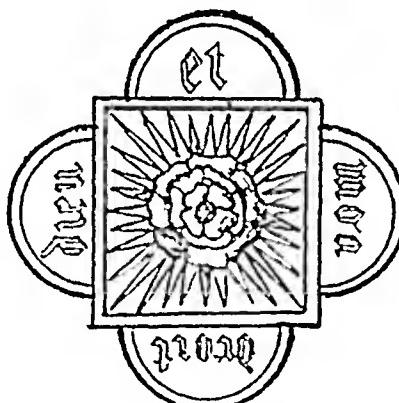
In this matter, as in so much else, the beautiful flower remains "The Mystic Rose," for there is no warranty to support the Bard's simple yet tragic derivation of the badges. We know little about the subject, but what is clear is that the rose, both the open petalled briar and the cultivated garden blossoms, appear as Royal blossoms at a very early date. Edward I used as his badge a golden rose with green stem and leaves, and it is conjectured that he may have assumed this in honour of his mother, Queen Eleanor, consort of Henry III, for she came from Provence, where great roses had flourished since the days when Thibault XV had brought back the flower from his crusading adventure. Her eldest son, the first Duke of Lancaster, had a bunch of roses on his shield, while his brother, Edward Crouchback, had his tomb painted with red roses. Edward III had the briar or dog rose on his great seal, and Richard II had them embroidered on the Garters he bestowed on his favourites. It is supposed that

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Edward III's fourth son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, assumed his great-grandfather's badge, though he had it of native red instead of the kingly gold, but it must be remembered that he married Blanche, the first Duke's youngest daughter and heiress, in right of whom he claimed Provence. This assumption of the Provence badge would, therefore, be quite in harmony with feudal custom.

It has been thought that he was followed in this by his younger brother, Edmond of Langley, Duke of York, who altered the gold to silver, or paled it from red to white. There is no evidence that Edmond used the rose badge, but his second son, Richard of Coningsburgh, Duke of Cambridge, apparently did, and it is conjectured that he derived it from his second wife, Maud, daughter of Lord Clifford, for according to a MS. in the Harleian Collection, the white rose badge was associated with Clifford Castle, possibly in memory of "Fair Rosamond."

Edward IV bore both the red and white roses on his standard, and sometimes blended it with the sunrays.



The "Rose en Soleil" of Edward IV, being a combination of the "blazing sun of York" and the white rose of York

Richard Plantagenet's prophecy of bloodshed comes true. When King Henry IV. is holding state in Paris ("1 Henry IV.", IV, 1), Bassett and Vernon enter the hall hurriedly, clamouring to be granted the right to combat. Asked to explain, Bassett says—

Bass Crossing the sea from England into France,
This fellow here, with envious criping tongue,
Upbraided me about the rose I wear,
Saying—the sanguine colour of the leaves
Did I represent my master's blushing cheeks.
When stubbornly he did repugn the truth,
About certain gretnes in the law,
Armed betwix the duke of York and him,
With other the indenorables terms
In case either of which he repugn,
And in despite of a lord's orthness,
Ie i'e the banch of fire of armes.

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

Ver And that is my petition, noble lord,
For though he seem, with forged quaint conceit,
To set a gloss upon his bold intent,
Yet know, my lord, I was provok'd by him,
And he first took exceptions at this badge,
Pronouncing—that the paleness of this flower
Bewray'd the faintness of my master's heart

The Duke of York champions the white, the Duke of Somerset the red, and wish to make the quarrel their own King Henry reproves the rebellious outburst

Beside, what infamy will there arise,
When foreign princes shall be certified
That, for a toy, a thing of no regard,
King Henry's peers and chief nobility
Destroy'd themselves, and lost the realm of France!
O, think upon the conquest of my father,
My tender years, and let us not forego
That for a trifle that was bought with blood!
Let me be umpire in this doubtful strife
I see no reason, if I wear this rose,

[*Putting on a red rose*

This at once gives rise to discontents Warwick praises the King who had stopped the contest, but York objects

And so he did, but yet I like it not,
In that he wears the badge of Somerset
War Tush! that was but his fancy, blame him
not,
I dare presume, sweet prince, he thought no harm
York And, if I wist he did,—But let it rest,
Other affairs must now be managed

Dog roses, the common but beautiful hedge roses, were known as cankers, a name occasionally applied to these badges Harry Hotspur, smarting under King Henry's demand for the delivery of his Scottish prisoners, speaks of the King as "this ingrate and canker'd Bolingbroke," and later in the discussion reproves his father and uncle for the help they gave him ("I Henry VI," I, 3)

Shall it, for shame, be spoken in these days,
Or fill up chronicles in time to come,
That men of your nobility and power
Did 'gape them both in an unjust behalf,—
As both of you, God pardon it! have done,—
To put down Richard, that sweet lovely rose,
And plant this thorn, this canker, Bolingbroke?

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

York is not long in finding further opportunity for contention. In the famous scene of Act I ("III Henry VI"), when Queen Margaret is introduced to the Court and the nobles are dismayed over the marriage treaty the Duke in soliquy says

Then will I raise aloft the milk-white rose,
With whose sweet smell the air shall be perfum'd,
And in my standrd bear the arms of York,
To grapple with the house of Lancaster,
And, force perforce, I'll make him yield the crown,
Whose bookish rule hath pull'd fair England down

The conflict progresses Henry VI on the battle field between Towton and Saxton ("III Henry VI," II, 5), horror stricken at seeing the grief of a Yorkist son who had slain his Lancastrian father, and a Lancastrian father who had killed his Yorkist son, cries

" Woe above woe Grief more common than grief !

* * *

The red rose and the white are on his face,
The fatal colours of our striving houses
The one, his purple blood right well resembles,
The other, his pale checks, methinks, present
Wither one rose, and let the other flourish !
If you contend, a thousand lives must wither

Later at Coventry (V, 2), Clarence arrives with drums beating and colours flying at the head of his forces Meeting Warwick, he says

Father of Warwick, know you what this means ?
[Taking the red rose out of his cap
Look here, I throw my infamy at thee
I will not ruinate my father's house,
Who gave his blood to lime the stones together,
And set up Lancaster

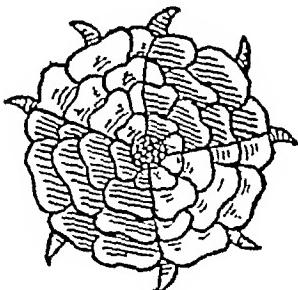
Then on Bosworth field, the victorious Richmond, as soon to become Henry VII, and originator of the Royal House of Tudor, declares

We will unite the white rose and the red,
Smile Heaven upon this fair conjunction,
O, now let Richmond and Elizabeth,
The true succeeders of each royal house,
By God's fair ordinance conjoin together !
And let their heirs (God, if thy will be so)
Enrich the time to come with smooth-fac'd peace,
With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days !

Shakespeare's patrons knew well the Tudor rose in one or other of its many forms For Henry VII bore both red and white roses with golden seeds and green leaves side by side He also bore roses quarterly red and white , per pale red and white , a white rose within a red and a red within a white , and he

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

placed this within sunrays, and these within a voided diamond and a quarterfoil with the royal motto. Henry VIII placed the white rose within the red as did Edward VI, Mary (with "the pomegranate knit together" in honour of her



The Tudor rose, quarterly white and red



The crowned Tudor Rose of Henry VII, with the red dragon of Cadwallader and the silver greyhound of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset

mother who used the Granade badge), Elizabeth and James I, the last sometimes impaling it with the Scottish thistle

Another dynastic badge is the sun. Richard II used many badges, among them a sun in splendour and a rose *en soleil*. Both these appear powdered on his second Great Seal. We have three mentions of this sun badge, first Lord Salisbury seeing the Welsh force depart, who would not stay for Richard's arrival from Ireland ("Richard II," II, 4), laments

Sal Ah, Richard! with the eyes of heavy mind
I see thy glory, like a shooting star,
Fall to the base earth from the firmament!
Thy sun sets weeping in the lowly west,
Witnessing storms to come, woe, and unrest,
Thy friends are fled, to wait upon thy foes,
And crossly to thy good all fortune goes

In scene 3 of the second act, York says

See, see, king Richard doth himself appear,
As doth the blushing discontented sun,
From out the fiery portal of the east,
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent
To dim his glory, and to stain the track
Of his bright passage to the occident
Yet looks he like a king, behold, his eye,
As bright as is the eagle's, lightens forth
Controlling majesty

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

And then, towards the closing of his career, being commanded to attend York in the base Court, Richard moans

Down, down, I come, like glistening Phaeton,
Wanting the manage of unruly jades.

Later, thinking of his fallen sun and the rising splendour of Hereford he says

O, that I were a mockery king of snow,
Standing before the sun of Bolingbroke,
To melt myself away in water-drops!—

Thus reversing the symbolism

Clifford applies the figure of Phaeton to the Duke of York, when on the plains near the Castle ("III Henry VI," I, 4), the Duke falls into the power of Queen Margaret, he proposes to show no mercy

Now Phaeton both tumbled from his car
And made an evening at the noon tide prick

But Edward III had used as his personal badge a "sunburst," that is the sunrays appearing round a cloud. Mr A C Fox-Davies thought this was a rebus, "winds" "or," for he was Edward of Windsor.

However, that may be, when the French King, attended by the Dauphin and his mother ("Henry V," II, 4), hears that King Henry is at hand, he declares that they will have to strain every nerve to meet him, and adds

When Cressy battle fatally was struck,
And all our princes captiv'd, by the hand
Of that black name, Edward, black prince of Wales,
Whiles that his mountain sire,—on mountain standing,
Up in the air, crown'd with the golden sun,—
Saw his heroical seed, and smil'd to see him
Mangle the work of nature, and deface
The patterns that by God and by French fathers
Had twenty years been made This is a stem
Of that victorious stock, and let us fear
The native mightiness and fate of him

Camden describes the "sunburst" as the "rays dispersing themselves out of a cloud," and this is what the pirate captain had in mind ("II Henry VI," IV, 1), when recounting his grievances, and the Duke of Suffolk's influence on his disgrace, cries

Burns with revenging fire, whose hopeful colours
Advance our half-fac'd sun, striving to shine,
Under the which is writ *Invitis nubibus*
The commons here in Kent are up in arms
And, to conclude, reproach, and beggary,
Is crept into the palace of our king,
And all by thee —Away! convey him hence



Edward IV at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross "Dazzle mine eyes or do I see
three suns"

Minature from Harleian MSS., Brit. Mus.

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

Edward IV's assumption of the sun in splendour is thus accounted for. On the plain near Mortimer's Cross ("III Henry VI," II, 1), Edward, Earl of March, being with his brother Richard and their forces, exclaims

Ducham eye, or do I see three suns?
Three glorious suns, each one a perfect sun
Not separated with the racking clouds,
But ever dancin upon shinning sky
See how they join, embrace, and seem to kiss,
As if they wold come to one inviolable
Now are they but a clump ont light, one sun
In sun the heaven h ures some event

The wondrous stamp, the like yet never heard of
I' st of a true w^r, brother, to the field,
H^r aye the son of brave Plantagenet,
Whose already blazin by our meeds,
S^till notwithstanding join our helts together,
And over hunc the earth or this the world
We see it bids henceforward will I hev
Up in my bate three fat shunning suns

At the battle of Tewkesbury, all seemingly being lost before the coming of Warwick, the unfortunate King in flight cries out

Sure, unto Heaven's or rule, uneventle death!
For he w^rld frownes and Edward's sun is clouded

Just before the battle of Bosworth, while in his tent (V, 3), Richard questions Ratcliffe as to what Northumberland has to say about Richmond, and hearing a clock strike, cries

Tell the clok there — give me a calendar —
What is the sun to day?
R. Not I, my lord
R. Then he did use to shine, for, by the
book
He could have brev'd the east an hour ago
A black day will it be to somebody —
Ratcliffe, —
R. My lord?
R. The sun will not be seen to-day
For he doth frown and frown upon our army
I wold these dewy tears were from the ground
Not shine to day! Why, what is that to me,
More thin to Richmond? for the self-same heaven
That frowns on me looks sadly upon him

Richard III usurped the badge as well as the throne. But we find him still Duke of Gloucester in the opening of the scene of the play that bears his name and his soliloquy he meditates on his plot

Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York,
And all the clouds that low'r'd upon our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Wolsey ("Henry VIII," III, 2), on his fall, giving advice to his servant, Cromwell, tells him :

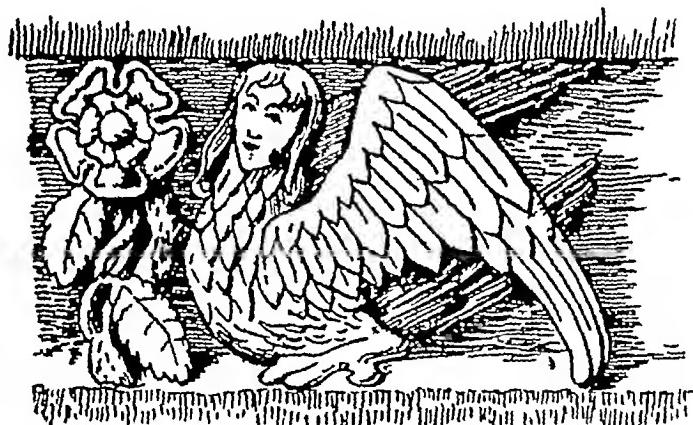
Seek the king,
That sun I pray may never set

which, however, is symbolism at large, for the sun was one of the King's personal badges.

Bolingbroke preparing to fight with Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk ("Richard II," I, 3), says .

As confident as is the falcon's flight
Against a bird do I with Mowbray fight

His father, John of Gaunt, had a white falcon as a badge, and he himself an eagle crowned



Falcon with maiden's head from Somerset Chapel,
St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle



Falcon and fetter lock badge of the Edward IV as Duke of York, derived from Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, of whose badge a political poet sang (1449) "The Fawken flyeth and hath no rest
Tille he with wher to bigge his nest"
Edward V bore his white falcon within an open fetterlock

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

Gloucester (later Richard III), had a falcon with maiden's head as a badge, and this gives point to gibes of Suffolk and Cardinal Beaufort at the St Alban's hawking scene ("II Henry VI," II, 1)

K Hen But what a point, my lord, your falcon made,
And what a pitch she flew above the rest!—
To see how God in all his creatures works!—
Yea, man and birds are fain of climbing high

Suf No marvel, an it like your majesty,
My lord protector's hawks do tower so well,
They know their master loves to be aloft,
And bears his thoughts above his falcon's pitch

Glo My lord, 't is but a base ignoble mind
That mounts no higher than a bird can soar

Car I thought as much, he would be above the clouds

In this description of hawking incidents much is crowded in which tells of the love of sport and the pride that went with it Falconry was a noble mystery, for hawking was the privilege of the great, and as implied in this passage there were different kinds of birds reserved for different ranks Dame Juliana Bernes, in her "Book of St Alban's" (1486), gives a list of hawking birds according to the ranks of society The eagle was for the Emperor (our King was lord of an Eagiory), for she would fly at "an hynde calfe, a fawne, a roe, a kidde, an elke, a crane, a bustarde, a storke, a swan, a fox in the playn grounde" For the king was the falcon and the tiercel, a duke, the splendid gyrfalcon, the earl, a peregrine, the baron, a bustard, the knight, a sacer, or sacred hawk, the squire, a lanare, a lady, the merlin, a youth, the hoby hawk, the yeomen, a goshawk, the priest, a sparrowhawk, and she adds "for clerks of Holy Water, a muskyte"

Bolingbroke, when preparing for single combat with Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk ("Richard II," I, 3), compares himself with a falcon, ready in all confidence to fly against a bird, implying one of lesser degree

Gloucester's favourite badge, however, was the white boar with gold defences He had 13,000 of these "wrought upon fustian" for his coronation, and made it the pendant for the livery collars of honour which he bestowed upon friends and principal followers Gerard Leigh says "the bore is the right esquire, for hee beareth both armour and shield and fighteth sternly," in fact, had so knightly a humour that he would do battle until nightfall, retire, and on the next day, would fail not to return to the same spot to meet his enemy, and so from day to day until he or his opponent expired Yet the duke's badge was very generally called a hog And Lady Anne, widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, urged by her animosity and the cantankerous spirit sometimes displayed by the duke, called

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him an " hedgehog," ("Richard III," I, 2) A little later, scene 3, Queen Margaret addresses him as

"I thou elfish-mark'd, abortive, rooting hog!"



Arms of Richard III with his wild boar badge as supporters

As the scheme to seize the crown matures, there is a gathering at Lord Hastings's House (III, 2) A messenger enters from Lord Stanley, bringing greetings, adding

Then certifies your lordship, that this night
He dreamt the boar had rased off his helm

Hastings is not alarmed, and returns answer that

To fly the boar, before the boar pursues,
Were to incense the boar to follow us,
And make pursuit where he did mean no chase

Later, Stanley enters, and to him Hastings cries

Come on, come on, where is your boar-spear, man?
Fear you the boar, and go so unprovided?

Act IV, scene V, takes us to Lord Stanley's house, where he receives an envoy from Harry Tudor, and says

Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this from me —
That, in the sty of this most bloody boar,
My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold,
If I revolt, off goes young George's head,

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

On his way to Bosworth field, Richmond meets his allies outside Tamworth (V, 2), and to them declares

The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,
That spoil'd your summer field and fruitful vines,
Swills your warm blood like wash, and makes his trough
In your embowell'd bosoms,—this foul swine
Lies now even in the centre of this isle,
Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn

It may appear superfluous to quote poor Collingbourne's satirical lines on

The rat, the cat and Lovel our dog,
Who rule all England under the hog

But they may be adduced in defence of Queen Margaret and Shakespeare. They had warranty for their miscalling of the beast. They also seem to show that the satirist was taking dangerous liberties with the cognisances of the Ministers. Ratcliffe had as one of his badges a "man tiger". Catesby bore argent two lions passant sable, crowned or, and Lovel, though he bore barry nebulee of six, or, and gules, claimed descent from the Comte d'Yvery, surnamed Lupellius, who bore, or, semee of cross crosslets, a lion rampant, argent, and so probably displayed as part of his complete achievement.

To an insulting message from the Dauphin ("Henry V," I, 2) The King sends reply

But tell the dauphin,—I will keep my state,
Be like a king, and show my sail of greatness,
When I do rouse me in my throne of France
For that I have laid by my majesty,
And plodded like a man for working-days,
But I will rise there with so full a glory,
That I will dazzle all the eyes of France,
Yea, strike the dauphin blind to look on us

This passage is explained by the fact that one of the King's badges was a beacon of fire, or cresset-light (the badge of the Admiralty), adopted by him "as signifying his sudden and hott alarmes in France," according to one of the Hartican MSS.

We have spoken of the English lions and the English roses as the Tudor blooms may well be called, but we do not hear of the Scottish thistle, though we do of the Welsh leek at some length in an inimitable scene. First, we see Ancient Pistol meeting King Henry disguised ("Henry V," IV, 1), and learning that he knows Captain Fluellen, says

Tell him I'll knock his leek about his pate upon
St David's Day

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

After the hard fought field of Agincourt, King Henry meets Fluellen, who speaks of the great deeds of Edward III and the Black Prince, adding .

If your majesties is remembered of it, the Welshmen did goot service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps, which, your majesty knows, to this hour is an honourable badge of the service, and, I do believe, your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon Saint Tavy's day

K Hen I wear it for a memorable honour
For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman

This leads up to a delightful scene, for at an English Camp in France, when enter Fluellen and Gower

Gow Nay, that's right, but why wear you your leek to-day? Saint Davy's day is past

Flu There is occasions and causes why and wherefore in all things I will tell you, as my friend, captain Gower The rascally, scald, beggarly, lousy, pragging knave, Pistol,—which you and yourself, and all the 'orld, know to be no better than a fellow, look you now, of no merits, —he is come to me, and brings me pread and salt yesterday, look you, and bid me eat my leek it was in a place where I could not breed no contentions with him, but I will be so pold as to wear it in my cap till I see him once again, and then I will tell him a little piece of my desires

Enter Pistol, who cries
Hence! I am qualmish at the smell of leek

Flu I peseech you heartily, scury, lousy knave, at my desires, and my requests, and my petitions, to eat, look you, this leek, because, look you, you do not love it, nor your affections, and your appetities, and your digestions, does not agree with it, I would desire you to eat it

Pist Not for Cadwallader and all his goats

Flu There is one goat for you [Strikes him] Will you be so goot, scald knave, as to eat it?

Pist Base Trojan, thou shalt die

Flu You say very true, scald knave, when Got's will is I will desire you to live in the mean time, and eat your victuals, come, there is sauce for it [Striking him again] You called me yesterday, mountain-squire, but I will make you to-day a squire of low degree I pray you, fall to, if you can mock a leek, you can eat a leek

Gow Enough, captain, you have astonished him

Flu I say, I will make him eat some part of my leek, or I will peat his pate four days — Bite, I pray you, it is goot for your green wound, and your bloody coxcomb

Of Crests and Badges and Mots

Pist Must I bite?

Flu Yes, certainly, and out of doubt, and out of questions too, and ambiguities

Pist By this leek, I will most horribly revenge, I eat—and eat—I swear

Flu Eat, I pray you. Will you have some more sauce to your leek? there is not enough leek to swear by

Pist Quiet thy cudgel, thou dose see, I eat

Flu Much goot do you, scald knave, heartily Nay, pray you, throw none away, the skin is goot for your proken coxcomb. When you take occasions too see leeks hereafter, I pray you, mock at 'em, that is all

Pist Good

Flu Ay, leeks is goot—Hold you, there is a groat to heal your pate

Pist Me a groat!

Flu Yes, verily, and in truth, you shall take it, or I have another leek in my pocket, which you shall eat

Pist I take thy groat, in earnest of revenge

Is the leek so ancient a Welsh badge as Fluellen would make out? Certainly the tradition said that St David, who when persecuted fed on leeks gave it to his followers as a token, which Drayton duly records in his "Polyolbion." And it would seem to belong to that class of cognisances which we have in the badges of the Scottish clans, and the broom branch and rods of the Plantagenets. Meyrick says that the Welsh national colours were white and green, and so the leek was assumed as a natural representation, probably the same scene as described by Fluellen when speaking to the King about the Welshmen finding leeks in the garden on the eve of Crecy, and sticking them in their caps had taken place before at home. But the question of national colours is taken up by Owen Rhoscomyl, and he holds that these were the livery colours of Richmond, Harry Tudor, who adopted those of his grandmother, Katherine de Valois. That would make the badge a late one, though one that came before Shakespeare's time. Some critics will have it that the leek is a mistake, and that the daffodil is the true national badge. Tradition is against this, in popular estimation at least as early as Richmond's day the leek is the rightful herb.

"Our ancient word," or mot, was the war-cry with which commanders led on their men to battle and encouraged them in the fight. The English national cry was "St George for England." The King ("Henry V," III, i), before Harfleur, says

The game's afoot,
Follow your spirit and, upon this charge,
Cry—God for Harry! England! and Saint George!

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And Richard ("Richard III," V, 3), on Bosworth Field, urges on his troops

Advance our standards, set upon our foes,
Our ancient word of courage, fair St George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons!
Upon them! Victory sits on our helms

It was supposed to have been introduced by Richard I, but more accurately may be assigned to the Warrior Edwards, the third of the name instituting the Order of the Garter in honour of St George

The French cry was "Mountjoy! St. Dennis!"

But the feudal chiefs had their own cries, sometimes identical with the motto, but not always so, and very often associated with the badge. The Warwicks' cried. "Warwick! a Warwick" And the Percies, "Percy, a Percy," though they also made use of their motto Thus Hotspur ("Henry IV," II, 3), preparing to depart for the front declares

That roan shall be my throne
Well, I will back him straight *Esperancé!*—
Bid Butler lead him forth into the park

And later, going into battles cries

Now,—*Esperancé!*—Percy!—and set on—
Sound all the lofty instruments of war

With characteristic levity, humour, and lofty sense of chivalry, Philip the bastard, of Fauconbridge, after the wrangling before the walls of Angiers, preparing for battle, invokes his royal sire's patron

St George, that swindg'd the dragon, and e'er since
Sits on his horseback at mine hostess' door,
Teach us some fence!

which must have intimately appealed to audience, the picture being so well known, aye! not only to the toper but to the churchgoer

VI COLOURS.

Of colour, as comprehended under the term tinctures, we have said something in the second section of our essay. But colours, in the plural, is a term used as a synonym for flags and also for avowed opinions. To understand them fully it must be remembered that standards and banners were usually parti-coloured, representing the livery colours, which might, or might not, be derived from the tinctures of the armorial shield. Sometimes they were adapted to exemplify alliance, feudal possessions, or for other reasons. In the purely allusive form, we find the term employed by Fenton ("Merry Wives of Windsor," III, 4).

Good mistress Page, for that I love your daughter
 In such a righteous fashion as I do,
 Perforce, agaunst all checks, rebukes, and manners,
 I must advance the colours of my love,
 And not retire. Let me have your good will

Of its military use and its inspiring influence, we have a vividly touched passage in "The Rape of Lucrece"

And when his gaudy banner is display'd
 The coward fights and will not be dismay'd

King Charles ("King John," II, 1), also employs the term in the warlike sense, when he tells young Arthur that the Duke of Austria has come

To spread his colours, boy, in thy behalf

Numerous are the stirring references of this kind

Puc Advance our waving colours on the walls,
 Rescued is Orleans from the English wolves —
 Thus Joan la Pucelle hath perform'd her word
 ("I, Henry IV," I, 6)

In the same play (III, 3), with the French Army outside Rouen, Charles and his officers watch the passing of English forces in the distance, La Pucelle pointing out "There goes Talbot with his colours spread, and all the troops of English after him."

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On the refusal of Bordeaux to open its gates (I "Henry VII," IV, 2) Talbot exhorts his troops to conquer or die, and cries "God and Saint George! Talbot and England's right! Prosper our colours in this dangerous fight."

Richard, Duke of York, having entered Parliament and ascended the throne, soon after there flock in King Henry, Clifford, Northumberland, Westmorland, Exeter and others, with the red roses of Lancaster in their hats In the heat of the discussion which follows, Warwick rebukes Westmorland

You forget
That we are those which chas'd you from the field,
And slew your fathers, and with colours spread
March'd through the city to the palace gates

But King Henry says

Think'st thou that I will leave my kingly throne,
Wherein my grandsire and my father sat?
No first shall war unpeople this my realm,
Ay, and their colours—often borne in France,
And now in England, to our heart's great sorrow—
Shall be my winding-sheet—Why faint you, lords?
My title's good, and better far than his

He is, however, made to yield and recognise York as his heir Then enter Queen Margaret with the Prince of Wales, and she declares for war

The northern lords, that have forsaken thy colours,
Will follow mine, if once they see them spread
And spread they shall be, to thy foul disgrace,
And utter ruin of the house of York

Later Margaret succeeds in getting the York line debarred and the Prince of Wales restored, and when Edward, the eldest son of the murdered Duke of York meets King Henry, Margaret and the Prince of Wales outside York, he finally cries .

Not willing any longer conference,
Since thou deniest the gentle kind to speak
Sound trumpets!—let our bloody colours wave!—
And either victory, or else a grave

In besieged Coventry (V, 1), drums are heard, and Warwick exclaims

O cheerful colours, see where Oxford comes!

while Oxford, crying "Oxford, Oxford for Lancaster," enters the City.

The term flag is also used by King John, who says (II, 1)

These flags of France, that are advanced here
Before the eye and prospect of your town,
Have hither march'd to your endangerment

Also by the Archbishop of Canterbury ("Henry V," I, 1)

Gracious lord, stand for your own,
Unwind your bloody flag

The Bishop of Carlisle ("Richard II," I, 1), introduces the term ensign, followed by "colours" used figuratively

That honourable day shall ne'er be seen
Many a time hath banish'd Norfolk fought
For Jesu Christ, in glorious Christian field
Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross,
Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens
And, toil'd with works of war, retir'd himself
To Italy, and there, at Venice, gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth,
And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,
Under whose colours he had fought so long

Ensign is a generic term, which may mean flag or any symbol on staff or pole serving as a rallying sign, and here used for the cross

But when Richard, Duke of York ("I Henry VII," V, 5), having taken the oath of allegiance from Charles and the French nobles, says :

So, now dismiss your army when ye please,
Hang up your ensigns, let your drums be still,
For here we entertain a solemn peace

He refers to flags As did Messala ("Julius Caesar," V, 1)

Prepare you, generals
The enemy comes on in gallant show
Their bloody sign of battle is hung out,
And something to be done immediately

As with colours, standard is used figuratively by Biron ("Loves Labour Lost," IV, 3), who advises the King and his fellows to go forward and meet the Princess and her bevy of ladies

Advance your standards, and upon them, lords,
Pell-mell, down with them! but be first advis'd,
In conflict that you get the sun of them

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We have it in the warlike sense in "The First Part of Henry VI," (II 1), when La Pucelle is in question :

Bedford A maid! and be so martial!
Bur Pray God she prove not masculine ere long,
If underneath the standard of the French,
She carry armour, as she hath begun

So with Richmond coming to Bosworth Field ("Richard III," V, 3), and directing the morrow's battle array :

Gives token of a goodly day to-morrow
Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard
Where is lord Stanley quarter'd, do you know?
Blunt Unless I have mista'en his colours much,
(Which well I am assur'd I have not done,)
His regiment lies half a mile at least
South from the mighty power of the king

Banner, that knightly word, appears twice in "Macbeth," first when Rosse in answer to Duncan's question "Whence came thou, worthy thane?" says .

From Fife, great king,
Where the Norwegian banners flout the sky,
And fan our people cold

Again, when Macbeth is besieged and orders :

Hang out our banners on the outward walls,
The cry is still, "They come" Our castle's strength
Will laugh a siege to scorn

Yet another term occurs in "Henry V" when the Constable of France tells the Dauphin (VI, 2) :

I stay but for my guidon To the field
I will the banner from a trumpet take,
And use it for my haste

And again, York ("I Henry VI," V, 3), hearing that Talbot is surrounded, complains

O God, that Somerset, who in proud heart
Doth stop my cornets,

refers to mounted troops led by a junior officer carrying a small flag attached to a lance

Henry V, we are told in the chorus to the second Act of the play of that name, sailed for Hampton

His brave fleet
With silken streamers the young Phœbus fanning

These are what we know as pennants, very long narrow flags, coming to a point

While we meet with terms colours and flags used in a more or less general sense, the dramatist, as we see, introduces ensigns, banners, and other specific words such as guidon, doing so with distinct intention, well knowing the distinction. So, though ensign is often used as a synonym for flags, the Bishop of Carlisle applies it to the Cross, or probably the crucifix. This was the form of the ensign or standard, as known to the ancients, a long pole, topped by symbols, in the case of the Roman Empire, the eagle. Later a flag or small cloth, party coloured and adorned with symbols or inscriptions, flapped from the top cross bar. The banners and standards during the period covered by the cycle of dramas under consideration were mostly armorial in character. Early banners were long rectangles, with the long side attached to the lance, but towards the end of the 15th century they tended to become more square, and after Shakespeare's time the position of the long rectangle was reversed. Usually the banner was treated as a shield, the entire surface being covered with the arms, though sometimes it was surrounded by a fringe. Such banners were borne by King, Princes, great nobles and knights entitled to lead troops. These bore the arms of the owner, and the King's banner, after Richard II was the quarterly coat of France and England, but the English knights also displayed the banner of St George, a red cross on a white field, probably from the later years of Richard the Lion Hearted's reign. Certainly early in the 13th century Early standards were, as we have said, in the nature of ensigns, symbols on poles, with the pendant oriflame or pennon, but the armorial standard of the 15th and 16th centuries, chiefly used for pageants, was of peculiar shape, long and narrow, the upper side sloping, so as to form a rounded or bifurcated point. Such standards were generally parti-coloured, showing the livery colours, and bore either the coat of arms on a shield, or the crest, badges and other family cognisance, together with mottoes. The pennon was a small, long flag, either pointed or swallow tailed, and the guidon more properly *guide homme*, was in the nature of a small banner, as may be gathered from Constable's remark

At the battle of Agincourt, besides the Royal armorial standard and those of the commanders, the flags borne were (1) white with the equestrian

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figure of St. George slaying the dragon , (2) white with a red cross , (3) the armorial banner of St Edward the Confessor azure, a cross glory between three marttels , (4) the banner of St Edmund, King azure, three golden crowns , (5) the Holy Trinity. on a red field a pall within a triangle, with roundels at the angles and in the centre, lettered to explain the devine mystery. On the French side there were the royal banner, the oriflame, a long red standard with five streamers, powdered with fleur-de-lis , the banner of St. Denis, blue, with a figure of the Saint, besides the numerous armorial banners of the vassals and allies

The position of the pennon as a lance flag is all too graphically borne out by the Dauphin when urging his followers

Bar Harry England, that sweeps through our land
With pennons painted in the blood of Harfleur



VII OF LIVERIES AND LIVERY

Much is said about livery, in the heraldic and the more strictly legal senses, the latter of which, however, is linked up with title and feudal office. Both are derived from *liveri*, to deliver, that is in the one case the distribution of food and clothing to dependents, and in the other the "livery in seisin," the handing over of property and office in fact or by token. Under the feudal system when a person holding a knight's fee died, the King's Escheator of that particular jurisdiction summoned a jury to enquire into the rights of succession. If the heir was under age he became a ward of the sovereign, but if of full age he had the right to sue for livery, or delivery of the estate into his own hands. The special grievance of Bolingbroke against King Richard is that after the death of his father, the Duke of Lancaster, he was not permitted to sue his delivery, that is, present his patents, take his oath of allegiance and then take seisin. Foreseeing the troubles that would arise therefrom, the Duke of York, remonstrating with the grasping King says ("Richard II" II, 1)

If you do wrongfully seize Hereford's right,
Call in his letters-patent that he hath
By his attorney general to sue
His livery, and deny his offer'd homage,
You pluck 2 thousand dangers on your head,
You lose 2 thousand well-disposed hearts,
And prick my tender patience to those thoughts
Which honour and allegiance cannot think.

And in scene 3 Bolingbroke says

I am denied to sue my livery here,
And yet my letters-patent give me leave

Again ("I Henry IV," IV, 3), Hotspur declaiming against the falsity of the King, sarcastically remarks :

He came but to be Duke of Lancaster,
To sue his livery and beg his peace

In the other sense, the delivered clothes, or cloth for clothes, partook of the nature of bestowal of uniform. Thus Tybalt, trying to avoid a faction fight ("Romeo and Juliet" III, 1) says

Well, peace be with you, sir! here comes my man,

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To which Mercutio :

But I'll be hang'd, sir, if he wear your livery
Marry, go before to field, he'll be your follower,
Your worship in that sense, may call him—man

Lancelot ("Merchant of Venice" II, 5) confides to his father that Signor Bassanio himself says. "give him a livery," and tells his followers to "put these liveries to making."

This Shakespeare knew by personal experience, for under James I, he and his fellows as the King's players periodically received from the Master of the King's Great Wardrobe an allowance of red cloth for liveries (Lord Chamberlain's book, Record Office).

So the livery came to mean the whole train of officers and menials attached to a Prince or great noble (and in the case of our own cities, the privileged members of the trade guilds) Thus Cleopatra ("Antony and Cleopatra" V, 2) says of Antony .

In his livery
Walk'd crowns and crownets, realms and islands were
As plates dropp'd from his pocket

Falstaff, hearing of the crowning of his crony Hal, as Henry V, hurries to London, and puts himself with his ragged followers on the path of the advancing procession :

"Come!" says he
Come here, Pistol, stand behind me—O, if I
had had time to have made new liveries, I would
have bestowed the thousand pound I borrowed
of you [To *Shallow*] But it is no matter, this
poor show doth better this doth infer the zeal I
had to see him

Pistol It doth so

In chivalry this was carried very far, and often knights wore the livery of great houses out of mere friendship, and of their mistresses out of devotion and respect Thus the Duke of Gloucester in sarcastic allusion to the "widow Woodville," the Queen, exclaims ·

I'll tell you what,—I think it is our way,
If we will keep in favour with the king,
To be her men and wear her livery.
The jealous o'er-worn widow, and herself,
Since that our brother dubb'd them gentlewomen,
Are mighty gossips in our monarchy
(Richard III, I, 1)

Of Liveries and Livery

There was a more serious aspect of this custom, for the bestowal of livery created a feeling of bravado in the liveried, as a result of the assured protection of their patron, hence constant riots and disturbance. This is shown in Act I, scene 3 of "I Henry VI," where on the Hill before the Tower

*Enter at the gates the Duke of Gloster, with his
Serving-men in blue coats.*

*Enter Winchester, attended by a train of Servants
in tawny coats.*

Glo What! am I dar'd and bearded to my face?—
Draw, men, for all this privileged place,
Blue-coats to tawny-coats Priest, beware your beard
[*Gloster and his men attack the Bishop*]

In the same play (III, 1) the youthful King, being on conference with the Regent and his nobles

[*A noise within!* "Down with the tawny coats!"]
What tumult 's this?

Warwick An uproar, I dare warrant,
Begun through malice of the bishop's men
[*A noise again, "Stones! Stones!"*]

The servants of the Duke of Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester invade the hall, struggling and fighting, followed by Lord Mayor, who cries out

Pity the City of London, pity us,
Our windows are broke down in every street
And we fear, compell'd to shut our shops

This is scarcely an exaggeration of what was constantly occurring, often developing seriously. The "livery" of a great nobleman frequently grew into thousands. For this reason statutes were enacted against indiscriminate bestowal of liveries. By 16, Richard II, cap 4 "It is accorded and assented That no yeoman nor other of lower estate than an esquire, from henceforth shall not use nor bear no livery, called livery of company, of any lord within this realm, if he be not menial and familiar, continually dwelling in the house of his said lord, and that the justices of peace shall have power to enquire of them, which do to the contrary and them to punish according to discretion."

This was followed by 3, Henry VII, cap 12, which enacted that the King's officers and tenants "should not be retained by liveries with others," showing how deeply the evil had permeated throughout the social scheme

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Doll Tearsheet (*2 Henry IV*, V, 4) calls the Beadle who had come to arrest her a "blue bottle rogue," no doubt in derision of his alcohol painted nose, and in allusion to his long blue uniform gown, for she likened him to a "filthy" fly

In Shakespeare's day the livery, though no longer of high political importance, was still a thing of vast influence in ordinary affairs of life. If the house colours and family badges did not cover with practical immunity a swollen array of clients, they still clothed and protected numerous retainers of several degrees, besides which the liveries of the civic authorities, of powerful Craft Guilds, the Law Courts (with their Messengers and Pursuivants, not least obnoxious of which were those of the Earl Marshall's Court of the Heralds' College) and of the Court itself, added to the sartorial gaiety of the crowds, and to the awe, after the alarm, of the average citizen. Succession, too, to real property was then a matter of complicated ceremonial implicating both Lord of the Manor and manorial tenant. So in both senses livery was a very real thing to the Bard's groundlings.



VIII OF GENTILITY AND TITLES

Had we been writing in Shakespeare's days, we might say the gravity of the subject of gentility is opened up in the first scenes of Act V in "Hamlet"

First Gravedigger, loquitor Come my spade
There is no ancient gentlemen but gardeners,
ditchers, and grave-makers, they hold up Adam's
profession

Second Gravedigger Was he a gentleman?

First Gravedigger He was the first that ever
bore arms

Second Gravedigger Why, he had none

First Gravedigger What, art a heathen? How
dost thou understand the scripture? The scrip-
ture says, Adam digged, Could he dig without
arms?

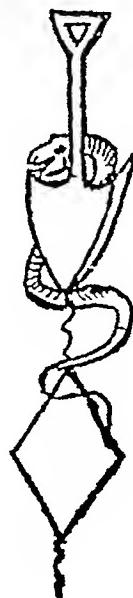
A faithful rendering of popular satire, no doubt, but it was satire, justified by the eccentricities of theologians and heralds

Gerard Leigh says "Anon, after the creation of Adam there was both gentleness and ungentleness, you shall understand that the second man that was borne was a gentleman, whose name was Abel I say gentleman of both vertue and of linnage, with whose sacrifice God was much pleased His brother Cain was ungentle, for he offered God the worst of his fruits"

Sylvanus Morgan, whose heavy tome "The Sphere of Gentry" (1661) is built up on those Armigeri, Adam and Eve, and Elisha with his coat of many colours, summarising the fables of older writers, soberly declares that Adam, before the fall bore a shield *de Gules plain* and Eve one of pure silver, but after the fall Adam's shield was *paly tranché* tinctured of all colours (and

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somebody else declares that Eve surcharged a fig leaf with an apple), and, of course, Adam placed his wife's coat in an escutcheon of pretence, while their children quartered them.



Sixteenth Century version of the impalement for the heraldic insignia of Adam and Eve after the fall, showing the spade shield for Adam and the shuttle or distaff (diamond shield) for Eve

Our shield, it would appear, comes from Adam's spade, and the woman's diamond from Eve's spindle To cap this came the theologians with their universal decent from that one pair—and so we have the gravedigger clowns' philosophy

With such dangerous doctrines about, and the deduction drawn therefrom no wonder that splenetic Richard, Duke of Gloucester, ("Richard III," I, 3), turning on Lord Rivers and Lord Grey, complains

The world is grown so bad
That wrens make prey where eagles dare not perch
Since every Jack became a gentleman,
There's many a gentle person made a Jack

(One of Richard's badges, it will be remembered, was a falcon with maiden's head, and Lord Rivers had a magpie, here likened to a wren, that bird of ill-omen)

The Jack of those days, was the Tommy of ours, "the man in the street" Possibly this came from the doings of the flagitious Jack Cade, whom

Of Gentility and Titles

we meet on Blackheath in the "Second Part of Henry VI," IV, 2, when, preceded by beating drums he enters with

Dick the butcher, Smith the weaver, and others in great number

Cade We John Cade, so termed of our supposed father,—

Dick Or rather, of stealing a cade of herrings
[Aside]

Cade —for our enemies shall fall before us, inspired with the spirit of putting down kings and princes,—Command silence

Dick Silence!

Cade My father was a Mortimer,—

Dick He was an honest man, and a good bricklayer

[Aside]

Cade My mother a Plantagenet,—

Dick I knew her well, she was a midwife

[Aside]

Cade My wife descended of the Lacies,—

Dick She was, indeed, a pedlar's daughter, and sold many laces

[Aside]

Smith But, now of late, not able to travel with her furred pack, she washes bucks here at home

[Aside]

Cade Therefore am I of an honourable name

Dick Ay, by my faith, the field is honourable, and there was he born, under a hedge, for his father had never a house but the cage

[Aside]

Even Dick has a fling at the heralds, with his "the field is honourable" for that is just what an armourist would say of a shield *de vert plem*

These upstart nobility and gentry (to become the grand old houses of later generations) were always a thorn in the flesh of the established *grand mond*. As Lord Lafeu says, with lofty impertinence to Parolles ("All's Well that Ends Well," II, 4)

You are more saucy with lords and honourable personages, than the commission of your birth and virtue gives you heraldry. You are not worth another word, else I'd call you knave I leave you.

That was the trouble, the straying out of the degree laid down by heraldry. As Gerard Leigh says, even with the second generation of our universal parentage came gentleness and ungentleness, in other words the *nobilis*

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and *ignobitis*, the worthy to be known having their heraldic cognisancesm and those of "no name," without coat armour.

"Those others" in the mass recognised the wisdom of this and bowed down to it. Even the truculent Hubert ("King John", IV, 3), coming to tell the discontented Lords that Prince Arthur lives, and falling foul of Lord Salisbury, begs him

I would not have you, lord, forget yourself,
Nor tempt the danger of my true defence,
Lest I, by marking of your rage, forget
Your worth your greatness, and nobility

To which Bigot, Earl of Norfolk, politely replies

Out, dunghill! durst thou brave a nobleman!

In more exalted circles, Margaret, Queen of Henry VI, in disdain of the newly created Marquis of Dorset, son of the "widow Widdeville," Queen of Edward IV, cries:

Peace, master marquis, you are malapert
Your fire-new stamp of honour is scarce current
O, that your young nobility could judge
What 't were to lose it, and be miserable!
They that stand high have many blasts to shake them,
And if they fall they dash themselves to pieces

Glo Good counsel, marry, learn it, learn it, marquis

Dor It touches you, my lord, as much as me

Glo Ay, and much more. But I was born so high,
Our airy buldeth in the cedar's top,
And dallies with the wind, and scorns the sun

Q Mar And turns the sun to shade,—alas! alas!
Witness my son, now in the shade of death,
Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy wrath
Hath in eternal darkness folded up
Your airy buldeth in our airy's nest,
O God, that seest it, do not suffer it,
As it was won with blood, lost be it so!

Gloucester has referred to his falcon badge and to the same badge of King Edward

As Olivia ("Twelfth Night"), says, thinking of the absent Viola *yclept Cesario*

What is your parentage?
"Above my fortunes, yet my state is well
I am a gentleman"—I'll be sworn thou art,
Thy tongue, thy face, thy limbs, actions, and spirit,
Do give thee five-fold blazon

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That is, the scion of a house of five generations, showing their four quarterings—the “*seize quartiers*” were indispensable to the superior gentility on the Continent

And yet the King in “All’s Well that Ends Well” (II, 3) rebuking the proud and cold Bertrand, dips deep into the philosophy of the subject showing that Honour is founded on deeds and worthiness, that blood may be dishonoured, though title may be the gift of the Fount of Honour

'T is only title thou disdain'st in her, the which
I can build up Strange is it, that our bloods,
Of colour, weight, and heat, pour'd all together,
Would quite confound distinction, yet stand off
In differences so mighty If she be
All that is virtuous, (save what thou dislik'st,
A poor physician's daughter,) thou dislik'st
Of virtue for the name but do not so
From lowest place when virtuous things proceed,
The place is dignified by the doer's deed
Where great additions swell, and virtue none,
It is a dropsied honour good alone
Is good without a name, vileness is so
The property by what it is should go,
Not by the title She is young, wise, fair,
In these to nature she's immediate heir,
And these breed honour that is honour's scorn
Which challenges itself as honour's born,
And is not like the sire Honours thrive,
When rather from our acts we them derive
Than our fore-goers the mere word's a slave,
Debosh'd on every tomb, on every grave
A lying trophy, and as oft is dumb,
Where dust, and damn'd oblivion, is the tomb
Of honour'd bones indeed What should be said?
If thou canst like this creature as a maid,
I can create the rest virtue, and she,
Is her own dower, honour and wealth from me

So Bertrand, hypocritically, gives answer

Pardon, my gracious lord, for I submit
My fancy to your eyes When I consider
What great creation, and what dole of honour,
Flies where you bid it, I find that she, which late
Was in my nobler thoughts most base, is now
The praised of the king, who, so ennobled,
Is, as 't were, born so

Falstaff, we may well suppose, looks at this question of bestowable honour, from a different angle Openly expressing his wish to be safely out of the coming fray (“I Henry IV” V, 2), Prince Henry answers

Why, thou owest Heaven a death

[Exit]

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Fal. 'T is not due yet, I would be loth to pay him before his day. What need I be so forward with him that calls not on me? Well, 't is no matter, Honour pricks me on. Yea, but how if honour prick me off when I come on? how then? Can honour set to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery then? No. What is honour? A word. What is that word, honour? Air. A trim reckoning!—Who hath it? He that died o' Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. Is it insensible then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? Detraction will not suffer it.—therefore, I'll none of it. Honour is a mere scutcheon, and so ends my catechism.

[*Exit*]

Jack, indeed, knew a many great man vain gloriously hiding behind the lying blazingly of "mere scutcheons," ignoble descent and scurvy deeds

It is the same view taken by Iago ("Othello" II, 3)

Reputation is an idle and most false imposition, oft got without merit and lost without deserving

But Cassio is of different opinion, he is hurt "past all surgery," for

Reputation, reputation, reputation! O, I have lost my reputation! I have lost the immortal part of myself, and what remains is bestial

Mowbray, the Duke of Norfolk, is of the same way of thinking

The purest treasure mortal brains offer is spotless reputation

While theoretically gentleman covered the whole class of armorial bearers, Gerard Leigh gives a list of nine degrees of gentlemen and there was much virtue in the nine degrees King Henry ("Henry V" IV, VII) asks Captain Fluellen whether a soldier is bound to keep his oath to a private person under every circumstance, stating

It may be his enemy is a gentleman of great sort, quit from the answer of his degree

To which Fluellen answers

Though he be as good a gentleman as the Devil is, as Lucifer and Belzebub himself, it is necessary

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The worthy Welshman was arguing by the book, for he had the heralds authority not only for the sacredness of a wager of battle, but for the gentility of Satan, who, though a fallen angel, was a Prince in the angelic list

Thus, as we have said, thanks to the heralds there was much virtue in these degrees, for they played a great part in social life. While Edward IV is reproached with having derogated "of his degree" by marrying Lady Grey, in the comical love scene between Slender and Anne Page, when Shallow says, "He will maintain you, like a gentlewoman," the silly nephew agrees, "Ay, that I will, come cub or long tail, under the degree of a squire" ("Merry Wives of Windsor" III, IV), meaning that within his sphere he will hold his own with lower or top dog

Iden, confronted in his garden by the desperate Jack Cade, whom he knew not to be the rebel ("Henry VI," IV, 10) says

Nay, it shall ne'er be said, while England stands,
That Alexander Iden an esquire of Kent,
Took odds to combat a poor famish'd man

But he promptly slays him, and cuts off his head when made aware of the intruder's identity

He laid store by his squireship, though knowing its humble place in the list of precedence Camden specifies five degrees of esquires (1) the eldest sons of Knights and their eldest sons in perpetual succession, (2) eldest sons of the younger sons of peers in perpetual succession (styled by Sir Henry Spelman *armigeri nataliti*), (3) those created by letters patent and their eldest sons, (4) esquires by virtue of their office (such as Justices of the Peace and others holding Commissions from the Crown, declared by the King's Bench to include barristers), (5) the three appointed by Knights of the Bath on their installation (abolished only as late as 1812)

In the following Act of the play just quoted Iden obtains his reward Bringing Cade's head to the King, Henry asks.

How art thou call'd? and what is thy degree?

Iden, Alexander Iden, that's my name,
A poor esquire of Kent, that loves his king

Buck So please it you, my lord, 't were not amiss
He were created knight for his good service

K Hen Iden kneel down [He kneels] Rise up a knight

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'Between the kneeling down and the rising up, the King has bestowed the accolade, the Knighthood—bestowing tap of the naked sword on the shoulder, which we call dubbing.

The Bastard of Cœur de Lion ("King John" I, I) tells his mother.

Knight, knight, good mother, Basilisco like,
What! I am dubb'd, I have it on my shoulder

For King John recognising him as Kinsman though ("something about, a little from the right"), had declared

From henceforth bear his name whose form thou bearest
Kneel thou down Philip, but arise more great,
Arise sir Richard, and Plantagenet

To dub him Knight and name him Plantagenet was easy for the King, but to change the Christian name was what Mother Church would scarcely have allowed without her special sanction

Queen Margaret claims this dignity for the Prince of Wales ("III Henry VI" II, 2), as a reward for his valour in arms

You promis'd knighthood to our forward son,
Unsheathe your sword, and dub him presently
Edward, kneel down

K Hen Edward Plantagenet, arise a knight,
And learn this lesson,—Draw thy sword in right

Henry VI dubs his son after battle, John his bastard nephew before fighting, and others were dubbed during battle Does not the Bastard, speaking of his putative father say, he was

A soldier, by the honour-giving hand
Of Cœur de Lion knighted in the field

Such knighting was deemed specially honourable

Henry V on the field Agincourt reading the list of the French killed says

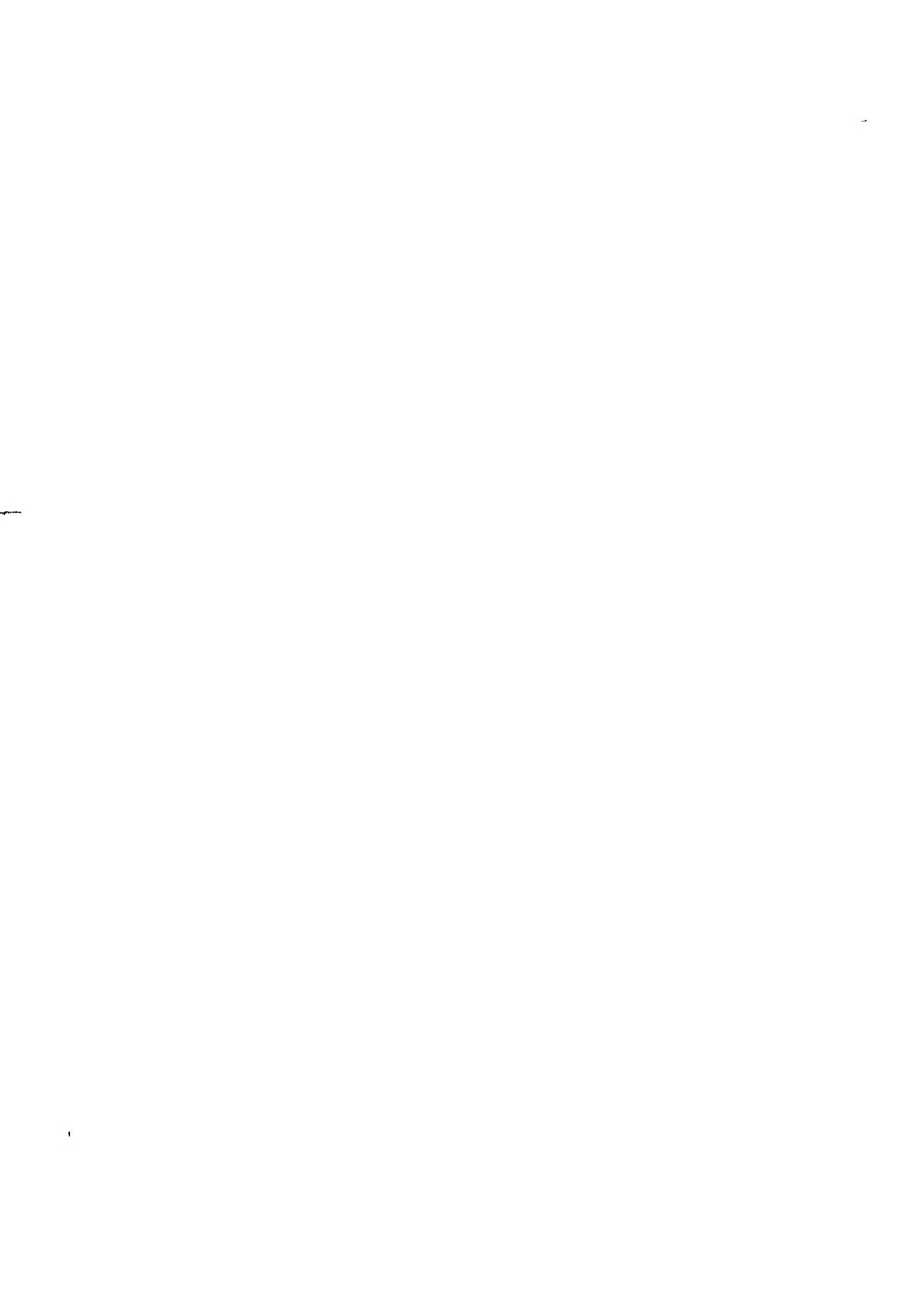
Of which five hundred were but yesterday dubb'd knights

This was a common practice, for on the eve of great martial events country gentlemen and younger sons swarmed to the colours, and many of these being of fitting degree had the honour of knighthood bestowed on them so that they might become leaders.



The Knighting of Henry Bolingbroke by Richard II in Ireland when eight other gentlemen of honour received Knighthood prior to battle Illumination from French metrical "Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre, Richard," 1399, formerly the property of Charles of Anjou, Count of Maine and Mortain, Governor of Languedoc

Harleian MSS, British Museum



Of Gentility and Titles

Shakespeare carries the dignity far back
say to Caius Lucius . He makes Cymbeline (II, I)

Thy Caesar knighted me

And at the end of the play he bids Belarius, Guiderius and Arviragus

Bow your knees
Arise my knights o' the battle, I create you
Companions of our person

The Romans had their Eques Auratus, whose symbols were the golden finger ring and golden spurs, and who formed an important body in the 6th century. It was from these many traced the Saxon cnyht, some of whom were of special dignity and attached to the King's person and household. It is from this august ancestry that we have our chevaliers and knights

There are cynics, however. Viola, masquerading as Cessario and threatened with a cudgelling from Sir Andrew ("Twelfth Night" III, 4) is told that Aguecheek "is knight, dubbed with unhacked rapier, and on carpet consideration," that is he was a civil knight, dubbed in court with a mere ceremonial sword for other considerations than those martial. These were the Knights of the Chamber (*Milites Camera, Rot Pat*, twenty-ninth year of Edward III), whom Randal Holme in his "Academy of Armory" (a book familiar to Shakespeare and his contemporaries), describes as Knights of the Green Cloth, whence by an easy transition "Knights of the Carpet." Yet these were important functionaries, the Knights of the Body. With us, Sir William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, was the first man not bred to arms to be knighted, which occurred in 1381 for killing Wat Tyler, and so afforded a precedence for a long and swelling list of civilian brothers of the spur, a custom much abused by the Tudor sovereigns, but not so grievously as by James I.

Mistress Ford ("Merry Wives of Windsor," II, 1), jokingly says she could be knighted, calling forth the retort from Mistress Page

What? thou liest!—Sir Alice Ford! These
knights will hack, and so thou shouldst not alter
the article of thy gentry

She would say that knights are being created at such a rate that they will become hackneyed, and that the untitled gentry would be more distinguished. A shrewd hit at the times when men were knighted in batches of fifty or so, though it was peace time. Again, in "The Second Part of Henry VI," V, 4, the Beadle makes use of the curious phrase, "you she Knight Errant." It is to be feared that the Beadle was uttering a punning libellous innuendo. But there

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is authority for these suggestions of our Bard, for it is an actual fact that Queen Elizabeth knighted Mary, wife of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley of Vale Royal, who was hence surnamed "the bold lady of Cheshire," a joke which would be in the minds of the groundlings and tickle them immensely

A number of the clerics appear with "Sir" as a prefix to their baptismal names, as the curates Sir Nathaniel in "Love's Labour Lost," Sir Hugh Evans in "The Merry Wives of Windsor," "Sir Topas," the clown, in "Twelfth Night," masquerading as a curate, and the vicar, Sir Oliver Martext, in "As You Like It." This is strictly correct, but has nothing knightly about it, for it is merely the rendering of Dominus, the Academical title of a Bachelor of Arts from early parts of the 14th to the 17th century. At the Universities the Sir was more correctly used as a prefix to the surname, but in the country the custom was to place it before the Christian name, evidently a more or less unconscious homage to the status of the person, who was thus, in formal address, placed on a level with the local knights.

Gerard Leigh reports from the "Gesta Troianorum,"

A Knight was made before any cote armour, whereof Olibion was the first that ever was Asteriall, his father, came of the line of the worthy gentleman, Japheth, and saw the people multiplie having no governor, and that the cursed people of Sem warred against them. Olibion being a mighty man and strong, the people cryed on him to be their governor. A thousand men were then mustered of Japhetes line. Asteriall made his sonne a garland of nine diverse precious stones in token of chevalrie, to bee the governor of the thousand men. Olibion kneeled to Asteriall his father and asked his blessing. Asteriall took Japhetes sauchen that Tubal made before the Fludd, and smote flattling nine times upon the right shoulder of Olibon, in token of the nine vertues of the foresaid precious stones, with a charge to keepe the nine vertues of Chevalrie, as followeth, saying

- 1 You shall holde with the sacrifice of the great God of heaven
- 2 You shall honour your father and mother
- 3 You shall be merciful to all people
- 4 You shall do no harme to the poore
- 5 You shall not tourne your backe to your enemies
- 6 You shall holde promise, as well as to friend as foe
- 7 Ye shall keepe hospitalities especially to strangers
- 8 You shall uphold mayden's right
- 9 You shall not see the widoes wronged

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The nine stones were the topaz (Or), the noble stone, which banishes wrath and evil thoughts , pearls (argent), the comforter and restorative , rubies (gules) , sapphires (azure), the peace bringer and stauncher of blood , diamonds (sable), the undauntable , emeralds (vert), the comforter to spirit and vision , amethyst (purpure), which quickens the mind, banishes drunkenness and evil thought , the jacinth (tenney), which brings gladness , sardonyx (sanguine), the protector of chastity

How titles were accumulated by individuals we have seen something when considering the preparations for the single combat between Hereford and Norfolk In "The First Part of Henry VI" (IV, 7), Sir William Lucy enters, attended , a French Herald preceding He announces to the Dauphin

I come to know what prisoners thou hast ta'en,
And to survey the bodies of the dead
But where's the great Alcides of the field,
Valiant lord Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury?
Created, for his rare success in arms,
Great earl of Washford, Waterford, and Valence,
Lord Talbot of Goodrig and Urchinfield,
Lord Strange of Blackmere, lord Verdun of Alton,
Lord Cromwell of Wingfield, lord Furnival of Sheffield,
The thrice-victorious lord of Falconbridge,
Knight of the noble order of Saint George,
Worthy Saint Michael, and the golden fleece,
Great maeshal to Henry the sixth,
Of all his wars within the realm of France?

Pucelle Here is a silly stately style indeed!
The Turk, that two-and-fifty kingdoms hath,
Writes not so tedious a style as this
Him, that thou magnifiest with all these titles,
Stinking, and fly-blown, lies here at our feet

However, Joan of Arc could have found many similar examples in the French Golden Book of Honours For instance, the de Montmorency of that period was Joan II, par la Grace de Dieu Premier Baron Chretien, Seigneur de Montmonrency, d'Ecouen, de Damville, de Constans-Sainte Honorine, Taverny, Deuil Attiley, etc etc , Grand Chamberlain de France In Froissart we read of Philip, the son of Franncis, duke of Burgoin, earl of Flanders, Artois and Palatine, lord of Selins, earl of Rethel and Malines The Turk was Padishah of the Ottomans, Servitor of the Cities of Istamboul, Edirneh and Broussa, Khalif of the Mussulmans, Emir of the True Believers, Sultan of the Lands and Seas, of Azerbeidjan, and much else,

We have seen the King raising the esquire to the rank of Knighthood by dubbing Much of the same ceremony was observed with the more exalted ranks of earl and duke, both in feudal times essentially *ministerialis*, ministers of the Crown, with more or less defined duties, as well as privileges, and the

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bestowal of these offices was marked by the presentation and girding of swords of authority. So the King ("King John," II, 2) was promising no empty honour when he declared :

We will heel up all,
For we'll create young Arthur duke of Bretagne,
And earl of Richmond, and this rich fair town
We make him lord of

Of the actual creation (commonly believed to be ratified by Charter, Patent or Writ) we have two examples. A petition (I Henry VI, III, 2) having been made for the reinstatement of Richard Plantagenet, and he having promised to be loyal, the King restored estates and privileges, then bids him :

Stoop then, and set your knee against my foot
And, in reguerdon of that duty done,
I girt thee with the valiant sword of York
Rise, Richard, like a true Plantagenet,
And rise created princely duke of York

In the second instance the King ("II Henry VI," I, 1) desiring to signalise his pleasure with William de la Pole's embassy to France, on the celebration of the affiancial with Margaret of Anjou, thanks him and bids him :

Lord marquess, kneel down;
We here create thee the first duke of Suffolk,
And girt thee with the sword

This is derived from the ancient Anglo-Saxon ceremony of girding the King's Alderman or County Representatives with the sword, which was continued with the Earls in Norman times.

Feudalism peeps out in the use of certain titles, for instance, in the earlier historical plays the Kings of England and France are as often as not called succinctly England and France. Thus, Chatillon ("King John II, 1") suggests to the French leaders

Then turn your forces from this paltry siege,
And stir them up against a mightier task
England, impatient of your just demands,
Hath put himself in arms, the adverse winds,
Whose leisure I have stay'd, have given him time

Then in "Henry V," II, 4, we read

Fr King. From our brother of England?
Exeter From him, and thus he greets your majesty

This shows the sovereigns as lord proprietors, taking their names from their territorial possessions. The most pathetic use of England with this meaning

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occurs in "King John" IV, 3, when Hubert having taken in his arms "that morsel of dead royalty," Prince Arthur, the Bastard, moralises

How easy dost thou take all England up!

Another form of this is seen in "Romeo and Juliet," where Lady Capulet speaks of "The gallant, young and noble gentleman, the county Paris"

This is a form which lasted till as late as the 17th century. We find in the Declared Accounts, Treasurer of the Chamber for 1604 (Roll 41, bundle 388, Record Office), an entry for payment for the attendance of the "Queen's Ma^{ts} players upon Countye Arembirge and the rest of the Commissioners at Durham House"

Gloucester ("II Henry VI," I, 1) grumbles that

Suffolk, the new-made duke, that rules the roast,
Hath given the duchies of Anjou and Maine
Unto the poor king Reignier, whose large style
Agrees not with the leanness of his purse

A little later Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, derisively tells Margaret

Thy father bears the type of King of Naples,
Of both the Sicils and Jerusalem,
Yet not so wealthy as an English yeoman

His "large style" was, indeed, formidable, for René claimed to be duc d'Anjou, de Lorraine, et de Barre, comte de Provence et de Piedmont, roi d'Hongrie, de Naples, des deux Siciles, de Jerusalem, et d'Arragon, and he used the Imperial and Apollotic eagle, with aureoled head as supporters to his armorial shield

A good deal of interest attaches to the use of the word "cousin." It is derived from the Latin *Consanguineus*, related in blood, and it is thus that we find uncles and nephews calling themselves cousins. Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, calls Queen Anne, consort of his nephew, cousin. Then there is the well-known passage in "Hamlet" (II, 2).

King Take thy fair hour, Laertes, time be thine,
And thy best graces spend it at thy will!
But now, my cousin Hamlet, and my son,—

Ham A little more than kin, and less than kind
[Aside]

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By which the Prince would say that he is, indeed, nearly related to the King, but not his descendant. Yet, the poet had warranty even for this curious misnaming of relationship. We find Richard, fourth Earl of Arundel, in his will dated 1392 calling, the Duchess of Norfolk, mother-in-law to his daughter, his mother ("ma miere de Norff")

In the more restricted legal sense it meant next of kin. In the King's mouth it was a recognition of the close alliance subsisting between himself and the peers. The phrase "our trusty and well-beloved cousin" addressed to the higher nobility, originated with Henry IV, who was by descent or alliance related to every earl then in the Kingdom. It was applied in writs and commissions to Dukes, Marquesses and Earls early in the 15th century.

Grace is applied both to sovereigns and dukes, and their peers the Archbishops and Cardinals, and was apparently derived from the subscription "Dei Gratia". In England it was applied to sovereigns from about 1399 to 1603. That the origin of the title had not been lost is shown by the scene between the outlawed Bolingbroke and York, Regent of England. Bolingbroke says:

Here comes his grace in person—My noble uncle!
[Kneels]

York Show me thy humble heart, and not thy knee,
Whose duty is deceivable and false.

Boling My gracious uncle!

York Tut, tut!
Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle
I am no traitor's uncle, and that word, grace,
In an ungracious mouth, is but profane

Lord is properly used for all peers, but equally correctly is it used to denote barons and lords by courtesy (the sons of the higher degrees of peers), where we have an enumeration of dukes, earls, and others, ending up with lords. Lordling is used as a term of respect for youthful nobles, and did not degenerate into a term of contempt until much later. Hermione ("The Winter's Tale," I, 1), speaking to Polixenes of her husband when they were boys, says "You were pretty lordlings then," and Humphry, Duke of Gloucester (II Henry VI, I, 1), speaking to his peers, says, "Lordlings, farewell." When Henry V enumerates the French slain, however, and reads out "barons, lords, knights," he means by lords "Seigneurs" (answering to our lords of the manors), Vidams, and a few other dignitaries exercising lordship. It is in this latter sense that we find it used in II Henry VI, IV, 7, when Dick cries

I have a suit to your lordship

And Jack Cade, levelling demagogue though he be, proud of such an address answers

Be it a lordship, thou shalt have it for that word

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Richard II ("Richard II," II, 1), applies the term more loftily, for on his departure on the Irish expedition he says.

And we create, in absence of ourselves,
Our uncle York, Lord Governor of England

In "I Henry VI," I, 1, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, urging his nephew to make redoubled war on France, cries bitterly

Gloucester, whate'er we like, thou art Proctor
And lookest to command the Prince and Realm

Soon after, when news of fresh disasters arrive from France, the Duke of Bedford fretting at the tidings, exclaims

Me they concern Regent of France

Edmund of Langley, first Duke of York, who had been on the Council of Regency in 1377, was appointed Regent in 1394, and no doubt was spoken of as Lord Governor. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was Protector in 1485. The title of Governor of England was borne by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, who was first Guardian of the Realm, 1272, then Governor of England, 1279, and Lieutenant of England, 1286-9, the first Regent being William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, 1216, who also bore the title of Protector.

Royal titles in the plays form a most interesting study. Chatillon ("King John," I, 1), addressing John refers to his "borrowed majesty," thus forcibly emphasising France's demand that the usurper should give up the throne of England to little Prince Arthur. As implying royal dignity the term occurs repeatedly, perhaps nowhere more effectively than in "The Second Part of Henry IV (V, 2)," when the King says

This new and gorgeous garment, majesty,
Sits not so easy on me as you think

As a title it appears in the Comedies and Tragedies. Hamlet employs the phrase "Your high majesty." We also find Hubert saying to the King ("King John," III, 3), "I am much beholden to your majesty," while the King himself applies it to the Queen Mother. It also occurs in "Richard II." In "Henry V" (IV, VIII) we read

Your majesty came not like yourself,
You appeared to me but as a common man

More usually the King is addressed as Sir, which is a contraction of Sire, itself a contraction of Sieur or Monseigneur, or as "my lord the King," merely

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another form of the Sir Very general is the term Highness, which was used in this sense early in the 12th century, and continued to be applied to the Sovereign down to the reign of Queen Elizabeth Henry VIII was the first English monarch to assume the title of Majesty, which had been applied to him by Francis on the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520), so Shakespeare ante-dated its application ; but he was quite right to use it as addressed to Bluff King Hal as an alternative title to Sir, Lord, Highness and Grace, all of which were current The title Grace was bestowed on the King and Queen early in the 15th century, and later on to Archbishops and Dukes, the direct implication being that they possessed their exalted estates "by the grace of God" Cardinal Randolph when threatening John ("King John," V, IV) reminds him that his situation is precarious :

Holding of the pope your sovereign greatness

There are numerous references to sovereignty , the direct title is used by Mowbray ("Richard II," I, 1), who explains that he had kept back certain royal monies because "my sovereign liege was in my debt," while Henry V calls Katherine "my sovereign queen" It becomes "dread sovereign" in the mouths of Mowbray and Gardiner The title (which is derived from super-regnum) came into use in the 13th century Liege, which we find in "King John," and all the historical plays (it is "dread liege" to Henry VIII), is a feudal term, derived from the High German, applied by a vassal to any sovereign ruler, and with us appears to have been so applied as early as 1233 It is an anachronism in "Cymbeline"

We find Emperor and Empire introduced in connection with English Kings and England Here again Shakespeare was justified, for our Anglo-Saxon Kings styled themselves Imperator in their Charters, and Henry VIII also laid claim to the title for himself and his realm (24 Henry VIII, cap 12 and 25 Henry VIII, cap 21)

Macbeth ("Macbeth" V, 5) tells his great nobles

my thanes and kinsmen
Henceforth be earls, the first that ever Scotland
In such honour nam'd

Here is a double error, derived from Boece The title of Thane persisted in Scotland to the end of the 15th century, and it was the Mormaer's or Great Stewards who first under Alexander I, in the early part of the 10th century, began to assume the title of earl, though the change was but gradual

In England the title was very old, the dignity and office having been given in fee by William I, and was apparently a direct continuation of the Earls of Saxon times, who, under the Confessor were known as, and had the duties of, Comes

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There is apparent confusion in the opening scenes of "King Richard II," where the dispute continues between the Duke of Hereford and the Duke of Norfolk. At the close of scene i Richard says

Lord Marshal, command our officers at arms
Be ready to direct these home alarms

Scene 3 shows us the Lists set out in an open square near Coventry, with the heralds about the throne and the Duke of Surrey appears as Lord Marshal. Now at this period Thomas, twelfth Baron of Mowbray and first Duke of Norfolk, was Earl Marshal, that honour having been given to him and made hereditary with his title, but as he was challenged as a traitor the Marshalship fell in abeyance, and was bestowed temporarily by the King on Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey and Earl of Kent, who was later Marshal and Lieutenant of Ireland. This is historically accurate. William I appointed Roger de Montgomery and William Fitzosborn joint Marshals of England. It is in the reign of Henry II that we hear of the term Earl Marshal, that dignitary being styled *Marescallus Angliae* and *Comes Marescallus*.

Certain lesser titles of office are of interest. Shallow ("Merry Wives of Windsor" I, ii), angry with Falstaff announces that the Knight shall not abuse Robert Shallow, esquire. Slender at once adds

In the county of Gloster, justice of peace, and *coram*
Shal Ay cousin Slender, and *Cust-alorum*
Slen Ay, and *ratolorum* too, and a gentleman
born, master parson, who writes himself *armiger*,
in any bill, warrant, quittance, or obligation,
armiger

A delightful jumble. The justice would attest "jurat coram me, Robertus Shallow, armiger," but probably he was of the quoram, that is the inner circle of the Bench, who conducted the important business, and Slender confused. As he does when his cousin barbarously contracts Custos Rotulorum (Keeper of the County Rolls), into Cust Alorum, adding *ratatorum*.

Flitting about the wood near Athens ("Midsummer's Night Dream" II, i), the fairy in enumerating the splendours of the little peoples of the Queen says

The cowslips tall her pensioners be
In their gold coats spots you see,
Those be rubies, fairy favours,
In those freckles live their savours
Must go seek some dew-drops here,
And hang a pearl in every cowslip's ear

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The degradation of a Knight, which included the taking away and breaking of his sword, hacking off his spurs, razing of his crest from the helm and reversing of his armorial shield, was provided for in the heralds' regulations.

This leads us to a new aspect of the subject, the legal meaning of title and titles.

Horatio ("Hamlet" I, 1) refers to

Well ratified by law and heraldry
a seal'd compact

This was no mere figure of speech, but referred to the "corpus" of charters, laws and precedents, recognised by the Parliament and the Earl Marshal's and King's Courts

There are three significant passages on these points in "Macbeth" When the Thane of Cawdor offers the homage to Durcan, he adds

Save toward your love and honour

Thus showing that the witches' prophecy had already undermined his honour, for, as Sir William Blackstone pointed out, he was not offering absolute liege homage, it was the limited homage to a feudal superior, the homage "saut le foy que jeo doy a nostre seigneur le rey," as Littleton has it After the tragedy, Macduff laments the condition of the Kingdom, "with an untitled tyrant, bloody sceptred," but he has to acknowledge that "the title is affear'd," that is confirmed by the accessors, affearers, the great Thanes

"Affearement" was in more than one instance in our history appealed to in disparagement of "fair sequence and succession"

King John before the walls of Angiers says to the First Citizen .

Doth not the crown of England prove the king?
And if not that, I bring you witnesses,
Twice fifteen thousand hearts of England's breed
To verify our title with their lives

Affearers were witnesses, supporters, from the Saxon fera or gefra, meaning companion, whence we also derive peer

This was the feudal view, scarcely borne out by the coronation ceremony, with implication of election, an element inherited from pre-Conquest days.



ff m' furent leur assemblee
m' estoit de mal empesee

Deposition of Richard II and election of Henry Bolingbroke to the Crown, in the Parliament at Westminster. Illumination from Metrical French "Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre," written in 1399, formerly the property of Charles of Anjou, Count of Maine and Mortain, Governor of Languedoc

Harleian MSS, British Museum

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Shakespeare rightly shows how tenaciously these old rights were held, even by the peers, for when ("King John," IV, 2) the King seated on his throne says

Here once again we sit, once again crown'd

Pembroke replies

This once again, but that your highness pleas'd,
Was once superfluous, you were crown'd before,
And that high royalty was ne'er pluck'd off,

Salisbury Therefore, to be possess'd with double pomp,
To guard a title that was rich before,
To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,
To throw a perfume on the violet,
To smooth the ice, or add another hue
Unto the rainbow, or with taper light
To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish,
Is wasteful, and ridiculous excess

These exceptions taken by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, and William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, are sound constitutionalism, based as they are on the ancient coronation ceremonial referred to, and even on feudal customs, the one inferring recognition by the several estates and religious consecration, the other legitimate succession and proper *seizin*. As Salisbury so finely says, such repetition of a solemn ceremony was to braid upon the title, to gild refined gold, to lower his dignity and render it ridiculous.

Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, in his remonstance with the King ("Richard II" II, 1), against his intention to confiscate the Duke of Lancaster's possessions, puts the whole policy of succession and settled society in a nut-shell:

Take Hereford's rights away, and take from time
His charters, and is customary rights,
Let not to-morrow then ensue to-day,
Be not thyself, for how art thou a king,
But by fair sequence and succession?

As we have seen in connection with the word "livery," the dispossessed Hereford made this suppression of his charters and inheritance his chief grievance. So when Lord Berkeley comes as a messenger from the Duke of York, Regent of England ("Richard II" II, 3), and says

My lord of Hereford, my message is to you

Bolingbroke replies

My lord, my answer is—to Lancaster
And I am come to seek that name in England
And I must find that title in your tongue,
Before I make reply to aught you say
Berk Mistake me not, my lord, 't is not my meaning
To raze one title of your honour out —

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After York's death, his eldest son, Edward, says

His name that valiant duke hath left with thee,
His dukedom and his chair with me is left

Richard Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,
Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun
For chair and dukedom, throne and kingdom say,
Either that is thine, or else thou wert not his

Thus the younger spurs on the senior, alluding to the badge of the dead prince (which, however, was really a falcon), and to the legend that when eagles grew old they flew into the sun, there to renew their youth. So it was supposed that only the eagle was noble enough to be able to gaze on the sun.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, had more openly laid claim to the crown ("3 Henry VI," I, 1), and of Henry he asked

Will you, we show our title to the crown?
If not, our swords shall plead it in the field

K Hen What title hast thou, traitor, to the crown?
Thy father was, as thou art, duke of York,
Thy grandfather Roger Mortimer, earl of March;
I am the son of Henry the fifth,
Who made the dauphin and the French to stoop,
And seiz'd upon their towns and provinces

A very full account of the legal and genealogical claim to the throne of France is given in the opening scene of "Henry V." The King had commanded his council and prelates to inquire into his rights. The Archbishop of Canterbury announces that he had done so

Save, that there was not time enough to hear
(As I perceiv'd his grace would fain have done)
The severals, and unhidden passages,
Of his true titles to some certain dukedoms,
And, generally, to the crown and seat of France,
Deriv'd from Edward, his great-grandfather

"Severals" would mean diverse written evidence, and Mr S W Orsen suggests (in a typewritten pamphlet in the British Museum) that we should read for "unhidden," "unwritten," conjecturing that the dramatist meant the archbishop to refer to the *lex non scripta* of the question.

Henry is particularly anxious about the Salic law, but

My learned lord, we pray you to proceed
And justly and religiously unfold,
Why the law Salique, that they have in France,
Or should, or should not, bar us in our claim
And God forbid, my dear and faithful lord,
That you should fashion, wrest, or bow your reading,
Or nicely charge your understanding soul
With opening titles miscreate, whose right
Suits not in native colours with the truth,

Of Gentility and Titles

That is, he was not to wrest evidence so as to create false titles

The Archbishop's summing up, sixty-three lines, is too long to quote, but having rejected the claim that France was Salic land he concludes

In the book of Numbers it is writ
When the man dies let the inheritance
Descend unto the daughter

With this the floods are let loose and after superhuman toil the English armies are victorious, followed by the treaty signing and the giving of Katherine in marriage Westmoreland announces that the French King has granted every article Exeter adding

Only, he hath not yet subscribed this —Where your majesty demands,—That the king of France, having any occasion to write for matter of grant, shall name your highness in this form, and with this addition, in French,—*Notre tres cher fils Henry roy d'Angleterre, héritier de France*, and thus in Latin,—*Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus, rex Angliae, et hæres Francie*

Hæres Francie actually become part of the title of the King of England, later to be changed into *Rex*

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York ("Third Part Henry VI," I, 1) asks, "Will you we show our title to the crown?" using the word title in its legal sense, which we have considered in connection with the before discussed subject of livery

7



The Heraldry of Shakespeare

IX. OF HERALDS AND THEIR DUTIES.

It is scarcely necessary in a study such as this to enquire into the much disputed etymology of the word "Herald," whose multitudinous activities are comprised within the science or art of heraldry. All that we are directly concerned with here is that the office is extremely ancient, being traceable not only to Roman and Greek civilizations, but to early Egyptian epochs. Chiefly the heralds' duties were to act as messengers between contending chieftains, at war or at peace. They it was who proclaimed war, cessation of hostilities and peace, opened up negotiations for their masters, and, in course of time, supervised the rules of combat, whether single or general, the niceties of military intercourse and conduct, the personal side of public functions, and so naturally became the recorders, genealogists and arbiters of all things heraldic, having to do with cognisances, personal or hereditary, and in consequence all that pertains to rank and privilege.

Many of their functions had to be carried out by proclamation, the delivery of a message following on a blare of trumpets to arrest attention. Hence from the earliest days they are associated with announcement, the opening out of an event.

In this sense there are many passages, among which we may quote "Romeo" (III, 5)

It was the lark, the herald of the morn,

and the opposite exposition in "Venus and Adonis"

"Look, the world's comforter, with weary gait,
His day's hot task hath ended in the west
The owl, night's herald, shrieks,—'t is very late,
The sheep are gone to fold, birds to their nest,
And coal-black clouds that shadow heaven's light
Do summon us to part, and bid good night

In "Silence is the perfectest herald of joy" ("Much Ado," II, 1) we have a complete reverse of the literal meaning, yet symbolically how true it sounds!

Of Heralds and their Duties

As to the human message, we find Boyet ("Love's Labour Lost," II, 1) announcing the coming of the King and his courtiers

Their herald is a pretty knavish page,
That well by heart hath conn'd his embassage

As to general proclamation we find ("2 Henry VI," IV, 2) Lord Stafford on the rising of Jack Cade directing

Herald, away, and, throughout every town,
Proclaim them traitors that are up with Cade

More exciting is their appearance in warfare After the battle outside Angiers ("King John," II, 2) the stage directions run

Alarums and Excursions, then a Retreat Enter a French Herald, with Trumpets, to the Gates

F Her You men of Angiers, open wide your gates,
And let young Arthur, duke of Bretagne, in,
Who, by the hand of France, this day hath made
Much work for tears in many an English mother,
Whose sons lie scatter'd on the bleeding ground,
And victory, with little loss, doth play
Upon the dancing banners of the French,
Who are at hand, triumphantly display'd
To enter conquerors, and to proclaim
Arthur of Bretagne, England's king, and yours:

Enter an English Herald, with Trumpets

E Her Rejoice, you men of Angiers, ring your bells,
King John, your king and England's, both approach,
Commander of this hot malicious day!
Hither return all gilt with Frenchmen's blood,
There stuck no plume in any English crest,
That is removed by a staff of France,
Our colours do return in those same hands
That did display them when we first march'd forth,
Open your gates, and give the victors way

Haughty words, yet the herald is sent away with kindly words and in honour as became his sacred office The distinction between this privileged position and that of an ordinary messenger is well brought out when King Edward ("III Henry VI" IV, 1) questions messenger

Now, messenger, what letters or what news From France?

Mess My sovereign hege, no letters, and few words,
But such as I, without your special pardon,
Dare not relate

K Ldw Go to, we pardon thee therefore, in brief,
Tell me their words as near as thou canst guess them
What answer makes King Lewis unto our letters?

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

When Henry V invades France ("Henry V," III 5) the French King demands

Where is Montjoy, the herald? speed him hence,
Let him greet England with our sharp defiance

Early in the 13th century it had become customary to give heralds titles, based either on the cognisance of their patron, some knightly dignity, or the *Cri de Guerre*. The French war cry was "Mon Joi, St Dennis!" Ever since the second race, the Kings of France had been the Advocates and standard bearers of the Abbey of St Dennis, whose banner the sacred oriflame, became that of the Royal House. Hence the cry and the herald's title.

Back in the English camp (III, 6) the stage directions run .

Tucket sounds Enter Montjoy

Mont You know me by my habit

K Hen Well then, I know thee, What shall
I know of thee?

Mont My master's mind

K Hen Unfold it

Mont Thus says my king —Say thou to Harry of England, Though we seemed dead, we did but sleep Advantage is a better soldier than rashness Tell him, we could have rebuked him at Harfleur but that we thought not good 'o bruise an injury till it were full ripe —now we speak upon our cue, and our voice is imperial England shall repent his folly, see his weakness, and admire our sufferance Bid him, therefore, consider of his ransom which must proportion the losses we have borne, the subjects we have lost, the disgrace we have digested, which, in weight to re-answer, his pettiness would bow under For our losses, his exchequer is too poor, for the effusion of our blood, the muster of his kingdom too faint a number, and for our disgrace, his own person, kneeling at our feet, but a weak and worthless satisfaction So far my King, so much my office

K Hen What is thy name? I knew thy quality?

Mont Montjoy

K Hen Thou dost thy office fairly Turn thee back and tell the king There's for thy labours (*gives purse*)

Mont Fare you well

Of Heralds and their Duties

In scene III of the fourth Act the tucket again sounds to announce approach of the French King of Arms

Once more I come to know of thee, king Harry,
If for thy ransom thou wilt now compound,
Before thy most assured overthrow

K Hen Who hath sent thee now?

Mont The constable of France

K Hen Herald, save thou thy labour,
Come thou no more for ransom, gentle herald,
They shall have none, I swear, but these my joints
Which if they have as I will leave 'em them,
Shall yield them little, tell the constable

Mont I shall, king Harry And so fare thee well
Thou never shalt hear herald any more [Exit]

K Hen I fear, thou wilt once more come again for a ransom

He did come back but not for ransom

News being brought to Henry ("Henry V," IV, 7) that the boys and camp followers had been slaughtered by the French, he bursts out

I was not angry since I came to France
Until this instant —Take a trumpet, herald,
Ride thou unto the horsemen on yon hill,
If they will fight with us, bid them come down,
Or void the field, they do offend our sight

After the victory at Agincourt dismissing Montjoy he commands

Our heralds go with him,
Bring me just notice of the numbers dead
On both our parts

And shortly after he questions the returned officer of arms

Now herald, are the dead numbered?

This was a duty that had to be allocated to such an officer, for he had to tell by arms and cognisances precisely who were the slain and the prisoners Thus the list which the King peruses tells

Of ten thousand French
That in the field lie slain of princes in this number
And nobles bearing banners, there lie dead
One hundred and twenty six added to these
Of knights, esquires, and gallant gentlemen
Eight thousand and four hundred
So that, in these ten thousand they have lost,
There be but sixteen hundred mercenaries
The rest are princes, barons, lords, knights, squires,
And gentlemen of blood and quality

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Where is the number of our English dead?
[Herald hands a paper
Edward the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk,
Sir Richard Ketley, Davy Gain, esquire,
None else of name, and of all other men
But five and twenty

As to the herald's duties in single combat, the problem is opened up in "King Lear" (V, 3).

Alb A herald, hoa!

Edm A herald, hoa, a herald!

Alb Trust to thy single virtue, for thy soldiers,
All levied in my name, have in my name
Took their discharge
Come hither, herald,—Let the trumpet sound,—
And read out this

Off Sound, trumpet! [A trumpet sounds

Herald reads

If any man of quality or degree, within the
lists of the army, will maintain upon Edmund,
supposed Earl of Gloster, that he is a manifold
traitor, let him appear by the third sound of the
trumpet He is bold in his defence

Edm Sound!

[1 Trumpet

Her Again

[2 Trumpet

Her Again

[3 Trumpet

[Trumpet answers within

Enter Edgar armed, preceded by a trumpet

Alb Ask him his purposes, why he appears
Upon this call o' the trumpet

Her What are you?
Your name, your quality? and why you answer
This present summons?

Edg Know, my name is lost
By treason's tooth bare gnawn and canker-bit
Yet am I noble, as the adversary
I come to cope withal

Alb Which is that adversary?

More of this is unfolded in the deadly quarrel between Bolingbroke and Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk ("Richard II," I, i) King Richard having unsuccessfully attempted the office of peace-maker, concludes

We were not born to sue, but to command
Which since we cannot do to make you friends,
Be ready, as your lives shall answer it,
At Coventry, upon Saint Lambert's day,
There shall your swords and lances arbitrate
The swelling difference of your settled hate,
Since we cannot atone you, you shall see
Justice design the victor's chivalry
Lord marshal, command our officers at arms
Be ready to direct these home-alarms

The fusinge (or may) and fugiting at 23 and

त्रिविद्या अवश्यक विद्यां रूपं त्रिविद्या विद्या विद्या विद्या

Er gnu hie firs daz - vñmali bung (S) vñndage
and frustung he wic hie vñt

*Expedient for the purpose of getting along with us, /
and to get in the work, (particulars) and understand all the
things (which have not obtained) in the best way, /
so as to make us fit for our own business, /
and to serve our country, /*

Writing Gantouray

Wessex and the ploughing of first oxen
England's former land was a great part of
the land held by the king, but it was not
well cultivated, so the people had to work
longer and harder than before. The king
and his nobles worked hard to improve
the land, and they built many new towns
and cities. They also made new roads and
bridges, and they built many new fortresses
and castles. They also made many new
settlements in the country.

*C. on a soft parchment with very large
in 1585. It is longer than a hand and a few lines
are written.*

*Account of Joustings or Tournaments held at Westminster
Harleian MSS., British Museum*

Of Heralds and their Duties

SCENE III.—Shows us an Open Space
near Coventry

*Lists set out, and a Throne Heralds, etc.,
attending*

Enter the Lord Marshal and Aumerle

Mar My lord Aumerle, is Harry Hereford arm'd?

Aum Yea, at all points, and longs to enter in

Mar The duke of Norfolk, sprightly and bold,
Stays but the summons of the appellant's trumpet

*Flourish of trumpets Enter King Richard, who
takes his seat on the Throne, Gaunt, and several
Noblemen who take their places A trumpet is
sounded, and answered by another trumpet within
Then enter Norfolk, in armour, preceded by a
Herald*

*A Rich Marshal, demand of yonder champion
The cause of his arrival here in arms
Ask him his name, and orderly proceed
To swear him in the justice of his cause*

Mar In God's name and the king's, say who thou art,
And why thou com'st thus knightly clad in arms
Against what man thou com'st, and what's thy quarrel
Speak truly, on thy knighthood, and thine oath,
As so defend thee heaven, and thy valour!

Nor My name is Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk,
[He takes his seat]

*Trumpet sounds Enter Bolingbroke, in armour,
preceded by a Herald*

Mar What is thy name? and wherefore com'st thou hither,
Before king Richard, in his royal lists?
Against whom comest thou? and what's thy quarrel?
Speak like a true knight, so defend thee heaven!

Boling Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby

Mar On pain of death, no person be so bold,
Or daring-hardy, as to touch the lists,
Except the marshal, and such officers
Appointed to direct these fair designs

Mar Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
Receive thy lance, and God defend thy right!

Boling [Rising] Strong as a tower in hope, I cry—amen

Mar Go bear this lance [to an Officer] to Thomas, duke of Norfolk

1 Her Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
Stands here for God, his sovereign, and himself,
On pain to be found false and recreant,
To prove the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray,
A traitor to his God, his king, and him,
And dares him to set forward to the fight

2 Her Here standeth Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk,
On pain to be found false and recreant,
Both to defend himself, and to approve
Henry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
To God, his sovereign, and to him, disloyal,
Courageously, and with a free desire,
Attending but the signal to begin

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Mar Sound, trumpets, and set forward, combatants
[*A charge sounded*
Stay, the king hath thrown his warder down
K Rich Let them lay by their helmets and their spears,
And both return back to their chairs again
Withdraw with us and let the trumpets sound,
While we return these dukes what we decree —

Bolingbroke was banished for ten years The Duke of Norfolk for life The latter, twelfth Baron Mowbray, created Earl of Nottingham in 1383 and Duke of Norfolk in 1397, was by virtue of his descent from Thomas Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, youngest son of Edward, Earl Marshal of England This office (which at the English Court dates back at least to the Conqueror, William I, conferring it on Roger de Montgomery and William Fitzosborn as joint Marshals of England) was on this occasion held in commission The day after the sentence of banishment it was conferred on Thomas Holland, Duke of Exeter As we are told (IV, 1), Thomas Mowbray, after honourable fight

in glorious Christian field,
Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
Against black pagans, Turks and Saracens retired himself
To Italy, and there, at Venice, gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth

Much has been made of the fact that in 1839 Rawdon Brown discovered at Venice a curious sculptured achievement which he presented to Henry Howard, of Corby Castle It was described and engraved in the "Archæologiae" This was ascribed to Mowbray, and was said to symbolize his and King Richard's triumph over Bolingbroke But apart from the lion crest, with its ducal coronet, there is nothing to connect it heraldically with the former Earl Marshal It should be remembered that the royal crest was not invariably crowned, Edward IV used an uncrowned lion statant On the other hand, the lion may well be the crest of Henry Bolingbroke, as Duke of Lancaster We know that he was at Venice in 1392-1393, and this stone may commemorate some benefaction of his or some event At any rate, the emblems shown, the white hart within a pale, the badge of Richard II, the ostrich feathers of the heir apparent, the King's banner, and Bolingbroke's own badge of the gorged white swan with his head concealed by a helmet suggest Lancaster And the whole device may well have been intended to symbolise his temporary security while in exile If this is the correct reading, the use of the royal banner without difference would singularly confirm Shakespeare's argument that Bolingbroke aspired to the crown at one period of his career

Towards the end of the play (IV, 1) there is another violent quarrel, this time touching the death of the Duke of Gloucester, in which various great nobles give each other the lie direct and throw down their gages Bolingbroke declares that "these differences shall all rest under gage," and that battle shall be

*Contemporary Report of the combat between the Duke of Hereford and
Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk*
Harleian MSS., British Museum

Of Heralds and their Duties

enforced later Touchstone ("As You Like It"), giving a most diverting account of quarrels and challenges, declares

O! sir, we quarrel in print by the book

This was only too true In 1590 Sir William Segar published in London an illustrated treatise "The Booke of Honour and Armes , wherein is discoursed the causes of quarrell and nature of injuries, with the repulses , also the meanes of satisfaction and pacification "

Heraldry played a conspicuous part at death. When the Court is summoned on the demise of Henry V ("I Henry VI," I, 1) the Duke of Bedford prays for the end of internecine strife

Cease, cease these jars, and rest your minds in peace!
Let's to the altar —Heralds, wait on us —
Instead of gold, we'll offer up our arms,
Since arms avail not, now that Henry's dead

From the point of view of the construction of the play, "Henry VIII" is remarkable in many particulars It is spectacular, most carefully written in a noble strain, with much that is pathetic and practically no low comedy part to relieve the stately march of events. Garter King of Arms, crowned and in his tabard, with his heralds and parsimants pervade much of the play, and under the direction of the Earl Marshal with his baton, directs the ceremonies. While some of the gorgeous pageantry takes place "off," we are, in scene I of Act I given an account of the splendid proceedings on The Field of the Cloth of Gold, while in scene I of Act IV there are directions for a Royal Coronation ceremonies, partly described by actors on the stage, but the actual coronation of Queen Anne of Boleyn takes place "off," though a vivid account of it is given by a spectator , finally we see the christening of the babe when Garter proclaims thus.

Heaven, from Thy endless goodness, send
prosperous life, long and ever happy, to the high
and mighty princess of England, Elizabeth

As the play has come down to us it is furnished with an elaborate apparatus of stage directions, which testify to the intention of mounting the piece with all trappings of majesty and heraldry Opening scene IV, Act II, we see a procession of dignitaries and officials entering the Hall at Blackfriars for the trial of Queen Katherine Vergers and scribes precede the Prelates Then comes a Gentleman bearing the purse, the Great Seal and the Cardinal's hat, two priests with silver crosses, a Gentleman Usher accompanying the Sergeant at Arms with mace, two Gentleman carrying silver pillars immediatly preceding the two Cardinals, followed by two Noblemen with sword and mace The King and Queen have separate trains There is accuracy ever in such details as the silver pillars, which Wolsey caused to be borne before him in his capacity as a pillar of the Church

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

In scene I, Act IV, the order of the Queen's Procession is given minutely. Two judges precede the Lord Chancellor with the mace and purse borne before him. Then follow choristers singing. The Mayor of London with his mace (on coronation ceremonies this is an ancient crystal rod), Garter, crowned, and in his tabard, the Marquis of Dorset and Earl of Surrey, with coronets and collars, having respectively the golden sceptre and the silver rod with dove. The Duke of Suffolk with the white wand of High Steward and the Duke of Norfolk with the rod of Marshalship. Then the crowned Queen, with the Bishops of London and Winchester, under a Canopy borne by four Barons of the Cinque Ports, followed by the Duchess of Norfolk as train bearer, and a number of coronated ladies.

Again, scene IV of Act V opens in the Palace on the Christening day, there is a procession ushered in by trumpeters, with two Aldermen and the Lord Mayor, the Earl Marshal with his staff, Garter King and other dignitaries

There is some evidence that this play was acted by Shakespeare's company at the Globe Theatre. Midway in scene IV of Act I the stage directions read "Drum and trumpets within, Chambers discharge." Now, chambers mean small cannons, and there are three letters extant dated about the middle of June, 1613, which state that the Globe was burnt down as the result of "a peal of Chambers." One of these is printed in Winwood's "Memorials" and states the play was on the story of Henry VIII, which agrees with the second letter, from Thomas Locking to Sir Thomas Puckering, found in the Harleian MSS., while the third, by Sir Henry Wotton says, the accident happened when there was a new play called "All's True" representing some principal pieces of the reign of Henry VIII. Clearly this points to the drama under discussion. This is of importance, because Sir Henry goes on to say the play "was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomps and majesty, even to the matting of the stage; the Knight of the order with their Georges and Garter, the guards with their embroidered Coats and the like." A presentation worthy of the pageant living Groom of the Chamber.

Of the third degree of Officers of Arms, the pursuivants, we hear in "Richard III" (III, 2) and we at once are aware that we have to do with a very minor office, for Lord Hastings says to Catesby and Stanley

Go on before, I'll talk with this good fellow
[*Exeunt Stanley and Catesby*
How now, sirrah? how goes the world with thee?

Purs The better that your lordship please to ask
Hast I tell thee, man, 't is better with me now,
Than when thou mett'st me last where now we meet
Then was I going prisoner to the Tower,
By the suggestion of the queen's allies,
But now, I tell thee, (keep it to thyself,)
This day those enemies are put to death,
And I in better state than e'er I was.

Of Heralds and their Duties

Purs God hold it to your honour's good content!
Hast Gramercy, fellow There, drink that for me
[Throwing him his purse]
Purs I thank your honour
[Exit Pursuivant]

In scene three, Act V, King Richard orders

Send out a pursuivant at arms
To Stanley's regiment bid him bring his power
Before sunrising, lest his son George fall
Into the blind cave of eternal night

There were pursuivants who were junior heralds (and many such were attached not only to the office of Arms, but also to the noble houses), and there were also pursuivants, the accredited messengers of the various Courts of Law, including that of Earl Marshal, and these took altogether a lower rank

Montjoy in presenting himself before Henry V, says "You know me by my habit," referring to his tabard, or coat, blazoned with his master's arms, back and front, and on the wing sleeves. It was a peculiar form of the surcoat, which all knights wore, also blazoned with their arms, hence coat of arms

Falstaff ("I Henry IV," IV, 2) makes a ludicrous allusion to this

There 's but a shirt and a half in all my company, and the half-shirt is two napkins tacked together, and thrown over the shoulders like a herald's coat without sleeves



Wild Boar crest in a Herald's Tabard, from a
14th c. MS

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Shakespeare probably found this in Gerard Leigh's "Accidence of Armorie," for there we read.

In my time and of late yeeres, I saw an Herchaught for lack of the Queens's cote of armes, take two trumpet binnars and laced them together, and so served And for that shift-making, most worthie to be remembered perpetuallie amongst herehaughts to be written in chronicle for ever

But, alas! his name was not chronicled

In "Pericles" (II, 2), we have a scene at a tourney or joust, and there the Knights appear with the Visors of their helmets closed and fanciful devices on their shield, as was actually the case in the knightly tourneys. The devices borne in the play are just such as were assumed by knight errant and others when entering the lists as unknown. According to Warton ("History of Poetry") Edward III for the Tourney at Canterbury, 1349, had a tunic and shield painted with a swan with the motto

Hoy, hay, the wythe Swan
By God's soule I am thy man!

In the play Thais sits as Queen of the Joust To her entreth a Knight, passing over the stage and

his Squire presents his shield to the Princess

Sim Who is the first that does prefer himself?

Thair A knight of Sparta, my renowned father,
And the device he bears upon his shield
Is a black Æthiop reaching at the sun,
The word, *Lux tua vita mihi*

Sim He loves you well, that holds his life of you

[*The second Knight passes*

Who is the second that presents himself?

Thair A prince of Macedon, my royal father,
And the device he bears upon his shield
Is an arm'd knight, that 's conquer'd by a lady
The motto thus, in Spanish, *Piu per dulcura que per fuerça*

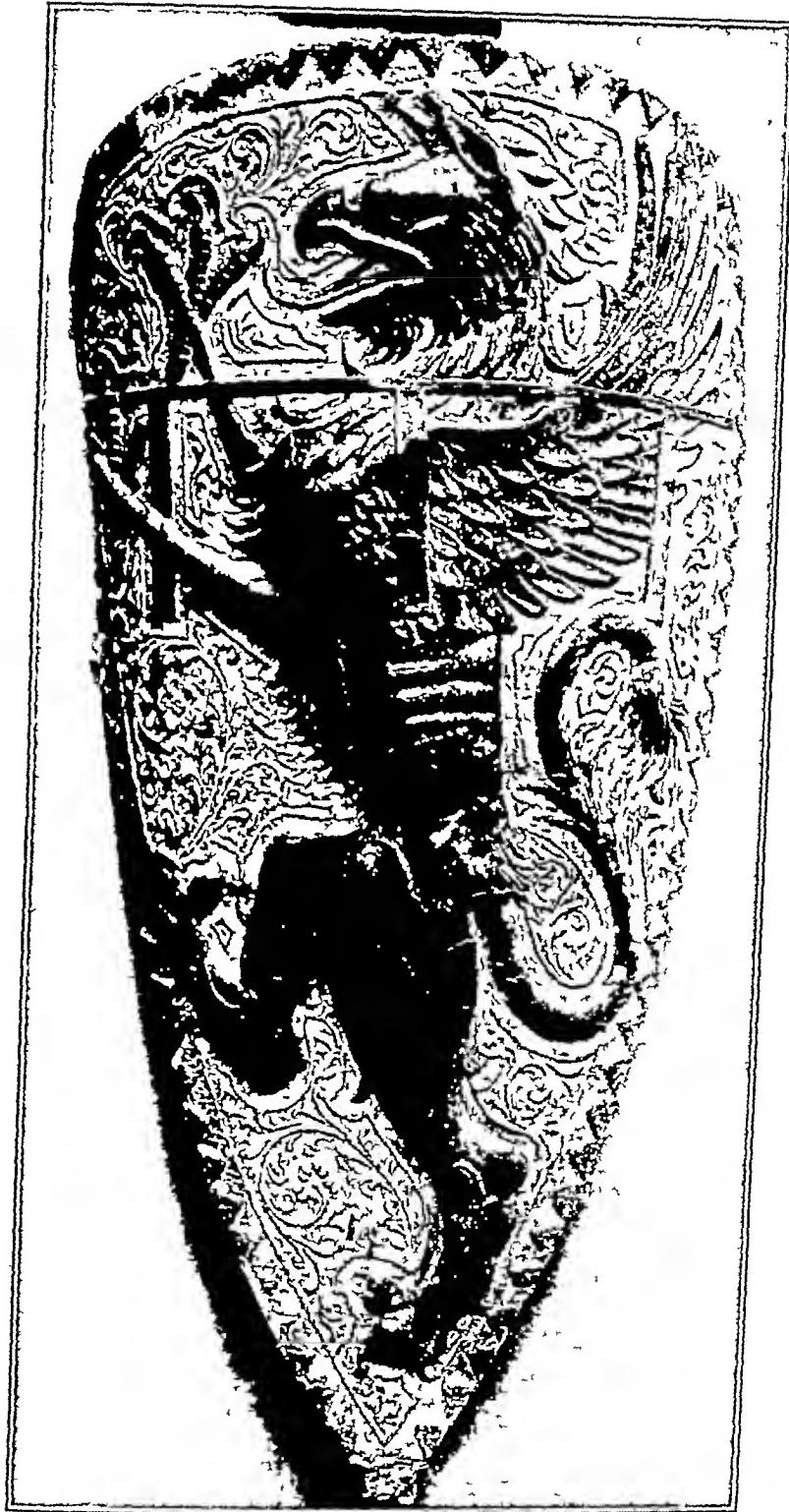
[*The third Knight passes*

Sim And what 's the third?

Thair The third of Antioch, and his device,
A wreath of chivalry the word, *Me pompa prorexit apex*

[*The fourth Knight passes*

Sim What is the fourth?



Jousting Shield or Shield of Parade Painted and gilt gesso on
wood 3 feet 8 inches long Italian circa 1450

Victoria and Albert Museum

Of Heralds and their Duties

That A burning torch that 's turned upside down,
The word, *Quod me alit, me extinguit*

Sim Which shows that beauty hath his power and will,
Which can as well inflame, as it can kill

[*The fifth Knight passes*

That The fifth, an hand environed with clouds,
Holding out gold that 's by the touchstone tried
The motto thus, *Sic spectanda fides*

[*The sixth Knight passes*

Sim And what 's the sixth and last, the which the knight himself
With such a graceful courtesy deliver'd?

That He seems to be a stranger, but his present
Is a wither'd branch, that 's only green at top,
The motto, *In hac spe vivo*

One of the important and spectacular duties of heralds was to honour the noble dead, to organise the funeral ceremonies and adorn the sepulchre fittingly. This side of their activities had been developed to an extravagant pitch towards the middle of the sixteenth century. So when Laertes ("Hamlet," IV, V) laments over his father's "obscure burial"

No trophy, sword nor hatchment o'er his bones,
No noble rite nor formal ostentation cry to be heard,

must have found echo if not sympathy in many of those who first witnessed the play. These few lines give a brief conspectus of mortuary glory as understood by the heralds. To this very day we may see over the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral his crested helm, shield of Peace, sword and shirt of mail. Such trophies were exhibited in a large number of churches over the monuments of knights. The hatchment, a large frame of wood, emblazoned with the deceased's armorial insignia, surrounded by black, was affixed over the entrance to the dead man's dwelling until the heir took possession and then was removed to the church. That ostentation for which Laertes craved was very obvious in Shakespeare's time. In 1568 the Earl Marshal of England, codifying the existing rules, issued an order to Garter principal King of Arms and his peers, Clarencieux and Norroy, directing them in their several jurisdictions "to superintend the ordering, marshalling and setting forth of burial" of Knights of the Garter and their wives, peers of the Realm and the wives of the gentry. It was ordained that the shield of arms, standard of arms, helm with crest, sword, spurs and collars should be borne before the coffin by friends, officers of the household or heralds, offered at the altar, redeemed and then affixed to pillars or walls in the church. There were to be pennons or pencils emblazoned with arms or badges showing territorial possessions, alliances or offices. Sir William Dethick, Garter, in his directions for the funeral of a dowager countess sets out that there were to be three

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Kings of Arms besides heralds and pursuivants, officers of the households, four bannerols to be carried by Knights, while the hearse was to be tricked out with fourteen dozen pencils emblazoned with arms, a hatchment of arms with helm, crest and supporters, six great compartment escutcheons on buckram, two dozen scutcheons on paper and much else, the total cost being £138 16 8 Glover, Somerset Herald, in his directions for the burial of Reginald, Earl of Kent, 1573, provides for knights to carry a standard, a great banner of arms and four others showing descent, 32 officers, including heralds, Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller with white wands given by the new Earl and conductors with black staves At the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, in addition to the Great Standard of England (the "Semper Eadem") there were standards with the "beasts" or badges, the lion, dragon and greyhound, the banners of Chester, Cornwall, Wales and Ireland, six bannerols with arms of descent on the paternal side and six of arms on the maternal side





A Joust Knights in armour with crested helms and emblazoned shields

From the Luttrell Psalter, an East Anglia manuscript of the early 14th c

Of Insignia

X OF INSIGNIA

Chief among the insignia, both for their heraldic importance and the poetical lines they call forth, are crowns

Henry ("III, Henry VI," III, 1) declares

My crown is in my heart, not on my head,
Not deck'd with diamonds and Indian stones,
Nor to be seen my crown is call'd content,
A crown it is that seldom kings enjoy

But this is not the general sentiment concerning that awe-inspiring symbol King Richard II speaks of

The glory of my precious crown,

but also declares

Within the hollow crown that rounds the mortal temples of a king, keeps Death his court

And then how at once pathetic and significant as to the power of regal trappings is the scene of the dying King ("II Henry IV," IV, 5), when he discovers that the graceless Hal, Prince of Wales, has removed the crown from his bedside

Thinking the King beyond hope, the Prince had said :

Why doth the crown lie there upon his pillow,
Being so troublesome a bedfellow?
O polish'd perturbation! golden care!
That keep'st the ports of slumber open wide
To many a watchful night!—sleep with it now!

My due, from thee, is this imperial crown,
Which, as immediate from thy place and blood,
Derives itself to me Lo, here it sits,—
[Putting it on his head]
This from thee
Will I to mine leave, as 't is left to me
[Exit]

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

When brought back, the King rebukes him.

"Wilt need invest thee with mine honours
Before thy hour be ripe? O foolish youth!"

The Usurper, John ("King John," II, i) says in defiance to King Philip championing the claims of the young Prince Arthur to England's throne.

"Doth not the crown of England prove the king?
And if not so I bring you witnesses
To see fifteen thousand hearts of England's breed
To verify our title with their lives."

Later, after quarrels with his feudal barons and spiritual lords, he had to bow to the power of Rome. In a fine scene he says to Cardinal Randolph, the Papal Legate:

"Thus I have yielded into your hand
The circle of my glory."

To which Randolph replies:

"Take again [giving crown]
From this my hand, upholding of the Pope,
Your sovereign greatness and authority."

This is in strong contrast with the other passages relating to the handling of the crown imperial, touching a sore point alike with the English Kings and people. Our dramatist supports the national view, several passages showing either the feudal or the popular feeling, which rejected all idea of submission to a foreign sovereign.

Other symbols of regality are frequently mentioned. Henry IV ("Henry IV," V, i) repentant, hands over to the Lord Chief Justice the Sword of Justice:

You did commit me
For which I do commit into your hand
The unstained sword which you have us'd to bear

The girding of the sword was a potent part of the ceremonies attending knighting, the instalment of an earl and the coronation of a King. From remote times our Regalia has included Swords of State of several degrees, the essential keen-edged, sharp pointed Sword of State and the blunted Sword of Justice.

Henry V refers to:

The palm, the sceptre and the ball,
The sword, the mace, the crown imperial
The interlaid robe of gold and pearl

His ambassador, Exeter, says to the French King

You divest yourself and lay apart
The borrow'd glories, that, by gift, of Heaven,
By law of nature and of nations, 'long
To him and his heirs

In "King Henry VIII" the Third Gentleman meeting a friend outside the Abbey describes the coronation of Anne Boleyn He says

She had all the royal makings of a queen,
As holy oil, Edward the Confessor's crown,
The rod and bird of peace, and all such emblems

Thus referring to two of the most precious items in the Regalia, the ancient crown taking the sovereignty back to Saxon times and the sceptre with dove, the type of which as seen on our coins, is older than the Norman line

Coronets have already been referred In the chorus to Act II, "Henry V," Expectation is said to hold out a "sword hidden from hilt to point with crowns imperial, crowns and coronets", that is prizes for the King (aspiring to sovereignty over a new dominion), princes and knights Charles the Dauphin said that La Pucell deserved a circlet of gold for her bravery. In "Henry VIII," during the coronation procession a gentleman in the crowd says he recognises the countesses because "their coronets say so" At that time all the peers in their degree, except viscounts, had distinctive coronets, The duke's strawberry leaves on their gold circlet did not take definite form until the end of the 16th century, when the marquesses also got their smaller strawberry leaves and pearls mounted on spikes It was about the same time that earls and countesses got their pearls placed on tall rays with strawberry leaves between each pair, before that they had the pearls alone Barons had large pearls on the circlet It was James I, who gave viscounts sixteen pearls on a circlet

In the first part of "Henry VI" (V, i) there enters a Legate and two Ambassadors with Winchester in a Cardinal's habit, when the Duke of Exeter says

What ' is my lord of Winchester install'd,
And call'd unto a cardinal's degree?
Then, I perceive that will be verified,
Henry the fifth did sometime prophesy,—
" If once he come to be a cardinal,
He 'll make his cap co-equal with the crown "

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

Then when Wolsey falls ("Henry VIII," III, 2) Suffolk enumerates among his faults:

That, out of mere ambition you have caused,
Your holy hat to be stamp'd on the King's coin

King Henry ("Henry V," IV, 1) after his discussion at night with Bates and Williams in camp communes with himself on the kingly burdens, including his glittering insignia and his "farced" (lengthy, well stuffed), title

No, thou proud dream,
That play'st so subtly with a king's repose,
I am a king that find thee, and I know,
'T is not the balm, the sceptre, and the ball,
The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,
The inter-tissued robe of gold and pearl,
The farced title running 'fore the king,
The throne he sits on, nor the tide of pomp,
That beats upon the high shore of this world,
No, not all these, thrice-gorgeous ceremony,
Not all these, laid in bed majestic,
Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave,
Who, with a body fill'd, and vacant mind,
Gets him to rest, cramm'd with distressful bread,

Probably "balm" was originally written "helm."

Of staffs as symbols of office there are several mentions. In order of precedence comes the Warden, which Richard II throws down ("Richard II," I, 3), to stop the combat between his cousins the Earl of Hereford and the Duke of Mowbray. It was his emblem as supreme chief of Chivalry. The Earl Marshal himself had a staff to guide the proceedings in the list. In the same play (II, 2).

Bushy Why have you not proclaim'd Northumberland
And the rest of the revolting faction traitors?

Green We have whereupon the earl of Worcester
Hath broke his staff, resign'd his stewardship,
And all the household servants fled with him
To Bolingbroke

In the next scene Northumberland enquires about his brother.

Why is he not with the queen?

Percy No, my good lord, he hath forsook the court,
Broken his staff of office, and dispers'd
The household of the king

Of Insignia

Of this Worcester reminds forgetful King Henry IV when wrongs have driven him to rebellion ("Henry IV" V, i)

After the marriage of Henry VI to Margaret of Anjou, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, tells his wife ("2 Henry VI," I, 2)

Methought this staff, mine office-badge in court,
Was broke in twain, by whom I have forgot,
But, as I think, it was by the cardinal,
And, on the pieces of the broken wand
Were plac'd the heads of Edmond duke of Somerset,

This was his staff as Lord Protector. The dream soon comes true, for in the Hall of Justice on sentence of the Duchess for witchcraft (II, i), the broken man is about to leave, the King bids him wait

Stay, Humphrey duke of Gloster ere thou go
Give up thy staff Henry will to himself
Protector be,

Glo My staff?—here, noble Henry, is my staff
As willingly do I the same resign,
As ere thy father Henry made it mine,
And even as willingly at thy feet I leave it,
As others would ambitiously receive it
Farewell, good king when I am dead and gone
May honourable peace attend thy throne

Exit
Q Mar Why, now is Henry king, and Margaret queen,
And Humphrey duke of Gloster scarce himself,
That bears so shrewd a maim, two pulls at once,—
His lady banish'd, and a limb lopp'd off,
This staff of honour naught —There let it stand,
Where it best fits to be, in Henry's hand

It would be possible to write a lengthy chapter on the history, symbolism and curious workmanship of these wands of power, including the fleur-de-lis tipped sceptre of which Hereford speaks



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